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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REFORMATION,  
AND OTHER  
Ecclesiastical TRANSACTIONS

IN, and ABOUT,  
The LOW-COUNTRIES,  
From the Beginning of the EIGHTH CENTURY  
DOWN TO

*The End of the Famous Synod of DORT:*  
In which all the REVOLUTIONS that happened  
In CHURCH and STATE

*On Account of the DIVISIONS between the*  
PROTESTANTS and PAPISTS,  
THE

ARMINIANS and CALVINISTS,  
Are Fairly and Fully Represented,

BY THE  
Learned GERRARD BRANDT.



LONDON:  
Printed by T. Wood, for TIM. CHILDE, at the  
*White Hart* in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1719.





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THE  
*Translator's Preface.*



THE following Sheets  
contain the First Part  
of a Great and No-  
ble WORK; *Viz.*  
*The History of the* REFORMA-  
TION *in the* Low - Countries;  
Many of the most remarkable Par-  
ticulars of which, are not yet known  
in our Nation.

IT was written in the *Dutch*  
Language by GERRARD BRANDT,  
\* 2 a Mi-

*The Translator's* P R E F A C E.

a Minister of the *Arminian*, or *Re-*  
*monstrant*, Persuasion ; and first  
Printed in the Year 1671.

As a Testimony how highly it is  
esteem'd and valued by the Best  
Judges who understand that Lan-  
guage, I shall only acquaint the Rea-  
der that One \* of the Greatest Men  
of *Holland*, assured one of the most  
|| Learned of Our Nation (from  
whose Mouth I have heard it)  
that *it was worth his while to learn*  
*Dutch, only for the Pleasure of*  
*reading* B R A N D T's History of  
the Reformation.

T H E

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\* Mr. F A G E L, Great Pensioner.

|| Dr. B U R N E T, late Bishop of *Salisbury*.

## *The Translator's* P R E F A C E.

T H E remaining Parts of this History are indeed fuller of such Events and such Proceedings as will Entertain the Reader more than This, which I now lay before Him ; as the Author comes closer to his main End in writing it, and discovers more and more what these last Ages have been concern'd in. But as the Whole could not all be attempted at once, because of the great Expence ; so, it was proper to begin, where the Author himself begins. If the World gives any Encouragement to this, I shall be induced to give them the rest of this Excellent Work as fast as it is possible to do it. And I  
am



*The Translator's* P R E F A C E.

am sure, it is a Work which will be of the greatest Benefit, both as it will shew Mankind the Spirit of Popery in all its Shapes, as perfectly as any History ever did; and as it will lead all Persons of a Curious and Inquisitive Genius, into the Knowledge of a multitude of most Important and Remarkable Facts, as well as of their Springs and Motives, which they will not find in any other Book yet known among us : and which I should be very much grieved to see lost in an unknown Language, for want of the Regard of *English* Readers.

P R O.



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THE  
UNDERTAKER,  
TIMOTHY CHILDE,  
AT THE  
White-Hart in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

*To whom GENTLEMEN that Subscribe may please to send in their Names and Additions, which shall be Printed at the Beginning of the Second Volume, that Posterity may know to whom the Publication of this Excellent Work is Owing.*

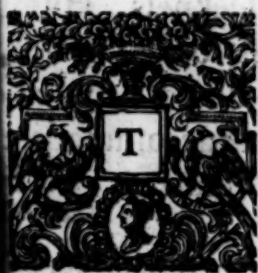


## *The Author's Dedication.*

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TO THE  
Honoured and Learned GENTLEMAN,  
Mr. CORNELIUS CLOOK,  
*Ancient Magistrate of the City of Amsterdam.*

SIR,



HE Glorious Dawn of the Reformation, and the Success with which it pleased God to bless the Arms of this State, has produced a great Good, and delivered us from a great Evil. The Holy Scripture (the only Rule of Faith and Manners) which Popery with-held from the People, is restored to us, and Compulsion of Conscience is driven from us.

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We



We may now read the Gospel, live according to our Mind, and with Safety declare what we think most conducing to the Weal of the Church and Christianity, without fearing any unlawful Violence. For this we are beholden, after God, to the righteous Government of our Sovereigns.

Thus is the Light put into the Candlestick, and the Use of it freely allowed to every body.

But what has been the Consequence? Have we not shut our Eyes against that Light which shone full in them? Have we made Place for Love and Charity, the Soul of True Religion? Or have we put it in Practice?

Let every Man ask his own Heart, whether it be not conscious hereof: Or let him enquire of Experience, and he will presently discover, that the True and Simple Religion, which sprung up and flourish'd under the Pressure of Persecution, has lost its Ground, falling from Bad to Worse. People have chosen the Tree of Knowledge, as they did in the Beginning, before the Tree of Life. Piety yields to subtil Learning, a Virtue very different from it. Innocence, Meekness, Humility and Love, are beaten off our Theatre: Wickedness, Persecution, Hatred and Envy and Self-love succeed them. Every one accommodates the saving Word to his own Prejudices; every one makes a Gospel for himself.

Every body is for throwing away the Weeds of Popery, and every body rejects it after his own Way: Many endeavour to root it out, but by the same Means by which it grew and prevailed.  
They

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They seek for Help from the Secular Arm; they profelyte Men by Force. On the contrary, 'tis the Sword of the Spirit, 'tis the Word of God, 'tis good Preaching and Living, that are the most proper Methods for extirpating the evil Doctrines of Popery.

Many have so separated from the Church of Rome, as upon account of what was Bad in it, to reject the remaining Good, or at least that in which there was no Harm: *But hitherto I do not find* (says *Constantine Huygens*, Lord of *Zuili-chem*, and a principal Member of the Reformed Church of *Holland*, in his Treatise of the *Use and Abuse of Organs*) *that any thing which is Good or Evil in itself, should be chosen as Good or Evil, only because it is embraced or disallowed by such as are engaged in other Errors of greater or less importance.* And speaking of a certain Custom in the Church of *England*, where the Clergy employ themselves in the Forenoon in reading the Word of G o d, in pronouncing fine Prayers, and in singing Psalms with Organs, he subjoyns; *Whether it smells of Popery or no, is it more preferable to stand idle than to imitate the Good of our Enemies? O Christians! unhood-wink'd Christians! dear Household of Faith, for the Lord's sake in whom we believe, let us once drive out of our Hearts this childish Spight, which I fear may hinder much Good from coming in.* This Partiality was very displeasing to *Charles I.* King of *Great-Britain*, a Prince of pious Memory; who spake thus to a certain Scottish Minister;

*To say that an Argument is nought, because the Papists make use of it ; or that a Thing is good, because it is practised by some of the Reformed Churches, does not carry any Conviction at all with it, in my mind ; nor will it ever, until you can demonstrate either that the latter are Infalible, or that the former maintain no Truths at all.*

Some are of Opinion, not only that they are in possession of the Truth, but even that they alone possess her ; yea, that all others are obliged to submit to what they call the Truth. When Men are possess'd of worldly Honour, when they perceive that they are the most numerous, and the Strongest, they willingly lord it o'er the Fewest and Weakest. But, says *Grotius*, in the Business of our Belief and Faith, Possession has no Concern or Title ; and they who in this Case are the smallest in Number, will not yield by any means to the Majority, unless obliged by Force.

The greatest part of Christendom were Followers of *Arrius* in the first Ages : But the remaining Christians had no regard to Numbers, which is often a Proof that Men are in the wrong. Let us hear what *Nazianzen* says thereof : *These* (meaning the *Arrians*) are possess'd of the Lands and Houses, but the Landlord is ours : *These* have the Temples, but God is with us ; and moreover, we are the Living Temples of the Living God ; Living Oblations, Reasonable Burnt-Offerings, Perfect Sacrifices,  
yea,

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*sea, as it were Gods through the Mercy of the  
adorable Trinity. These have the People on their  
side, we the Angels: These have Presum-  
ption and Boldness, we the Faith: These make  
use of Menaces, we of Prayers: These cast Men  
out, we bear with them: These have Gold and  
Silver, we the pure Doctrine.* Vid. Orat. XXV.

p. 440. How many now a-days look only upon  
such Externals, upon the Greatness of their  
Numbers, upon the Figure and Quality of Men?  
Whereas, in Matters of Religion we ought to  
have no Regards but for what CHRIST and  
his Apostles have revealed, commanded and pra-  
ctised.

And how readily is that condemn'd as errone-  
ous, which our Reason cannot comprehend, be-  
cause others maintain it for a fundamental Truth!  
Of themselves therefore some pronounce; *We  
are capable of Erring, but yet we do not Err.*  
But of others they cry out; *They can Err, and  
they do Err. But if we think they do Err,* says  
that meek Man † *Martin Bucer*, why don't we  
believe that we may possibly Err our selves?  
For no Body Errs wilfully, nor is any one, how  
holy soever he be, entirely free from Error.  
Thus then is the *Case of Humane Affairs*, whilst  
our Souls are cloy'd with Flesh; even the Lovers  
of Truth do perswade themselves, that they see  
things in the Scripture it self, which nevertheless

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† Epist. ad Academ. Marpurgens. Enarrat. ad IV. Evang.  
præfix. Argentorati edit. p. A. 3.



*no Body else can find therein. However, whilst such Mistakes and Misapprehensions last, whilst the Flesh takes so much pleasure in its Fancies and Fictions, very good Men do often embrace and defend Errors for Truths, even in such manner that they shall zealously oppugn Truth it self, whilst they are maintaining things that are false. Bucer is of opinion, that such as these should be recommended to their Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, but still that they should be honoured as Brethren, whilst it is plain from the sure and sincere Fruits they produce, that the Spirit of the Father is in them. Yea, continues he, by how much the more they Err, the more are we bound to treat them with diligent and useful Love: To the end that they perceiving Christ's Spirit to be in you, and being still more obliged by your good Offices, may hearken more cheerfully, and believe more readily what you say to them; and that you also may show your selves (as is your Duty) to be fit Instruments of the Spirit of our Saviour.*

*But instead of complying with such wholesome Advice, Men hate the erring Person, more than the Error it self. Men commonly strengthen their Notions with Anathema's and Execrations, laying as much stress upon these as they are able. Thus Schisms, thus Separations arise; thus are Men made Hereticks, Persecuted and Burnt; wherever a stronger Party than their own prevails.*

*These Methods turn Churches to Prisons, and make use of Racks and Tortures to force*  
*Con-*

Conscience. These are the Tares and Weeds in the Field of the Lord, which often choak the good Wheat.

But this is not an Evil of to day, or yesterday only ; the Seeds of this Chaff have been long scatter'd, even at the Beginning of the *Reformation* ; but GOD be praised the same *Reformation* produced likewise worthy Men who saw, and shew'd it, who warn'd both Clergy and Laity, giving them wholesome Advice, and restraining them within the Bounds of their Duty. Thus behaved *Erasmus, Cassander, Franciscus Junius, Antonius Coranus*, together with other godly Divines, who interposed between both Sides, that they might correct their mutual Faults, moderate their Disputes, and promote Peace.

Of these and other Incidents concerning the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Abuses, our Countrymen and Cotemporaries ought, in my Opinion, to be better instructed, than we commonly find them. For a true Relation of such Transactions may be exceeding useful to a sound Judgment, in order to weigh and consider what Advantages or Disadvantages *Partisship* (which endeavours to foment and keep up unnecessary Divisions, and to make the Unnecessary become Necessary) brings to them, and in order to distinguish between Realities and Appearances ; as likewise to teach Men not to magnifie Evil, nor lessen Good, but to value every thing according to its intrinseck Worth.

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This has been my View in composing the present Account of *the Reformation of the Low-Countries*, with some Reflections serving to enlighten the same.

But it may be objected, that in doing so, we discover the Nakedness of our Churches.

'Tis true, but they are inveterate Sores and Wounds, which the more we endeavour to bind up and hide, the deeper they eat in, and the more are they disposed to fester and ganger. The opening helps to heal them: *Neither is the Man who pretends to relate Events sincerely, obliged (as Onuphrius Panvinius says, and rightly too, in his Book de Comitibus Imperatoribus) to describe Matters as they ought to have happen'd, but as they really came to pass; for otherwise it is not an Historical Relation of Real Facts, but a meer Romance.*

Let us therefore bear with Truth, even tho' she should be against us. 'Tis natural to Men to err; and it is a useful Generosity to acknowledge our Mistakes. *Narrow Souls, says Causabon in his Dedication of Polybius, can't suffer that any thing be taken from them, because they have nothing; but Great Men, to whom the Management of great Affairs is entrusted, are so far from being shock'd at the Sincerity of a faithful Historian, that on the contrary, they are ready with a generous Heart to own their Errors and Mistakes.*

If this were our common Practice, how many things might we learn that *now are hid from our Eyes?*

*Eyes* ? We should then read and contemplate the Events of past Ages, their Diseases and their Cures, with such a Frame of Mind as is proper. Then this History might perhaps be of some Use to many Christians who now suffer themselves, as if blind, to be led by blind Guides till they fall into the Pit of *Partisship*.

Thus they of the *Romish* Communion, if they would hear and see, might learn of their *Erasmus* (I call him theirs, tho' I have reckon'd him among the Reformers, because he lived and died in their Church) that excessive Superstition stifles Truth; that human Traditions prevailing among them, turns Christianity into *Pharisaicalness*; that the raging Restraint of Conscience is the Work of a Hang-man, and not of a Divine. They might also learn from their *Cassander*, that the Popedom wanted to be Reformed, and that Salvation may be hoped for out of the Church of *Rome*. Thus would they discover the Vanity of their fond and chimerical *Infallibility*, and listen to *Reformation*.

The *Protestants* too (under which Title I comprize all that reject Popery) might here by a stricter and more mature Examination of Things, obviate many Inconveniencies, which were not indeed unknown to them before, but which some of 'em seem now to have forgotten. Amongst other things, the Truth of History might teach them, that some have unjustly blamed the Government on account of their Gentleness to Papists, who in this Country enjoy  
some



some kind of Liberty in the Exercise of their Religion by Connivance; for the same Truth would inform them, that our Ancestors took up Arms for the common Liberties of the People, and that even those of the *Romish* Communion were concurring and assisting to shake off the Yoke of *Spanish* Tyranny.

But it is objected, that they (the Papists) are Idolaters, that they worship Men, and meaner Things: But are we our selves entirely exempt from the like Sins, when we make our selves Slaves to Mammon or Riches, and thro' Gluttony and Voluptuousness make Gods of our Bel-lies? They who in some Communities will not depart one Tittle from what their Ministers have once conceived, and taught them, whether it be True or False, do they not in some manner make their Teachers their Gods, by paying them too great Honours? But no body will own, that this happens in *his Party*; and the Papists too deny what we charge them with. We prove it, they revenge it. We call them Hereticks, they return the Compliment. God the Supreme Governor will decide the Matter.

Many Protestants may learn from their *Franciscus Junius* (who at the introducing the Reformation, gave Popery so many mortal Wounds, by his great Learning and Christian Forbearance both in Preaching and Writing) *not to despise nor condemn the Goods of Nature in any body, how imperfect soever.*

*Why should People (says he) overlooking the Good, because of that which is bad in him, drive a Man desperately into a Precipice? Why should we destroy him with our ill Nature and Intolerance? We should rather labour to kindle the little Sparks of Goodness in him, instead of extinguishing them; and when once kindled, diligently to keep them burning and shining.*

Eiren. p. 47.

From the same Junius we may learn, that Men should not so dispute, for the Sake of some Persons, or in Defence of their Worth, Honour, and Authority, as if there were no Church in the World besides this or that Church. And truly, continues he, I think it by no means well, that the Churches should be rent and torn for their Sakes: Neither is it well any more, that those who through their Ignorance and Weakness make Divisions, should through your Knowledge and Authority, or rather your Tyranny (be ye who ye will) be thus cut off. For if they don't acknowledge that Church, of which thro' God's Grace I am a Member, it shall nevertheless be sufficient to me for the present, to find that they acknowledge any Church of Christ: It shall not trouble me very much, whether they own me, or this, or t'other Church, if they do but own Christ; being assured, that if they be strengthened in Christ, tho' by little and little, it will happen at last, the Eyes of their Understanding being enlightened, that they will see, that I and others do live in Christ, and they will be more closely united with the Assembly of the Godly. For if they sully  
that

Eiren. p. 158.

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*that most pure Fountain of the Holy Scriptures, by their Inventions and Traditions, can we expect to be better Champions of the Truth thereof than God himself?*

From the abovementioned Man we may learn yet farther, that Diversity of Opinions ought not so easily to break Peace or Unity.

*Tho' we should not all of us, says he, Eiren. p. 157. be of the same Mind in all Things, far be it that we should immediately conclude, that we are no longer One, whilst we agree in so many, and in the most Essential Things. They who hold One God the Father, from whom all things are, One Christ, in whom are all things, and One Holy Ghost, by whom are all things, One Body in Unity of the Spirit, one Faith in these Fundamentals, tho' they differ herein, that one believes more and another less, shall we therefore deny that we are One, and separate from one another, because we are not intirely of the same Mind in all things? How then? Don't we see in one and the same Man a Will fighting against it self, and yet that there is but one Will? The Natural Will does lust after that which the Spiritual Will flees from. The Senses cause our Will to rebel against the Understanding and Reason of a Man. A sick Man with the same Will wishes for his Health, and the things that are destructive of it; his Senses allure him to one, Nature to the other. A good Man often desires that which the Lord forbids, and yet at the same time scruples very much to will that which God does not will; as*  
St.

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St. Austin formerly shewed by the Similitude of a Son, praying that his Father's Life might be lengthened, when God had willed the contrary. What then must be done in this Case? Shall we make two Men of one? Or must a Man lay his Hands upon and tear himself? Should we then be surprised, that what happens in a Man's own Body, should happen in so great a Body as the Church? Now if ye tolerate that in one single Human Body, will ye not bear the same in the Body of Christ, which has been gathered together by God? Will ye not bear that at this Time, when the Gathering together of that Body is just begun, which ye are contented to bear in a perfect Body of a mean Man, to wit, till it attains to it's full Growth and Stature? God forbid! Let us all together unanimously do our best, to the end that, tho' in several Matters we are of different Sentiments, yet in the main we may be One. Let us lift up our Eyes, and contemplate the Throne of God's Mercy placed in Heaven, where not only those that were of another Mind, but (which is more) they who were at Enmity with God, are now reconciled to him thro' the Blood of Jesus Christ. If any body in human Affairs differs from me in Opinion, and wrongs me, I am required by the Authority of the Lord to forgive him; but he that differs from me in the Business of Faith, if he be mistaken, he does not wrong me, but his own Master; now if his Master forgives him, ought I not to do the same? Moreover, if he errs, the Lord has not made him

see



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*See his Errors: We must therefore bear with those that err, and wait with Patience the Lord's Time of making them see their Errors. We should set our selves to work, not to drive away those that err, but rather to lead them into Truth, if it shall please God to make use of our Ministry for their Instruction and Salvation.*

An Enquiry into our Reformation, and the Means that were used to bring it about, may furnish us with these, or the like Reflections.

It will make us cry out with *Bucer* and *Sturmius*, EGO NEMINEM DAMNO, IN QUO ALIQUID CHRISTI REPERIO; *I condemn no Man in whom I can find any thing of Christian.* And with an ancient Doctor of the Church †; *I shall not think it too much Pains to examine into what appears doubtful to me; nor shall I be ashamed to learn anew, and to be set right in those things wherein I have been mistaken. Wherefore they who read the Book I am now writing, if they find no Doubts, let 'em go along with me; if the Matter be not clear, let them search into it as I do likewise: If they find themselves mistaken in differing from me, let them follow me; if they discover that I have erred, let them call me back. Let us therefore thus walk together in the Paths of Love, bending our Course always towards him of whom it is said, Seek his Face always.*

Such an Enquiry will put us upon finding out Means of promoting the Unity of Christians, every one doing his Part therein.

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† *Augustin. de Trinit. Lib. I. Cap. II. & III. Tom. III. p. 171.*

It will suggest to us, that Christ only is our Master, and that we are all Brethren, and therefore ought never to separate or tear one another into Pieces. It will tell us, that none among us should pretend to be wiser than becomes us; but wise with Moderation, wise with regard to our selves; nor think above what is written, but according to that Measure of Knowledge which God has communicated to every one: To bear with the Weak and Unstable, to the end that they may join with us in Peace: To wait for those who in some Part of Religion dissent from us (if they can't be convinced by us) till it shall please God to manifest to them also his hidden Truths: And in the mean while holding fast the Fundamentals, as far as they are known to each of us, mutually to bear with one another in Things of lesser Importance, until that Time comes when we shall know all things fully, and not in part.

Such Reflections as these tend to Ecclesiastical Peace, which might be easily acquired, if we were what we ought to be, and would allow each other instead of a *Better*; or at least if we did but practise *Mutual Toleration*. One might point out above three hundred Questions in the Romish Church, which are canvast among the Learned, but without Schism or Separation. But what keeps them thus united? The Papacy, as many think, the Tyranny, the Restraint upon Conscience, the Fear of Punishment, the Love of worldly Honour, Ease and Power.

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But then, how much greater Influence ought the Fear of G O D, the Beginning of true Wisdom, and the Love of our Neighbour, the true Badge of Christianity, to have on our Minds? The G O D of Peace and Order places Schisms among the damnable Works of the Flesh. Without Peace no Man shall see the L O R D. Wrath hangs over the Head of him that delights in Quarrels. *Hereby, says Christ, shall Men know ye are my Disciples, if ye love one another.* He don't say they shall be known by the Name of any Man; by embracing any particular Confession or Catechism, excepting the holy Scriptures; much less by any Externals, or humane Inventions, but by *Love*. This *Love* is the Mother of Peace and Forbearance, for it bears all things, it seeks not it self, it thinks no Evil, it covers all things, it is not Bitter, it is Meek and Merciful, it rejoyceth in the Truth; wherefore it readily yields to what is better; but neither is it Fickle or Unsteady, wherefore it will not change, unless it be fully satisfied that it is for the best.

Thus should we try all things, and hold fast that which is good; *which I don't suppose to mean (says Mr. Huigens) that when we have chosen what we think is the best Church, we should totally reject all other Communities besides; but that following the best, we should ingraft therein, and retain whatever we find Good in any other.* If the Divines would admit of this Gloss from a Great Layman, would they embrace it, and put it in practice, the Reformation might

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much improved, we should all, tending as it were to one Center, draw nigher to each other in time, and coming together, find more saving health with Peace than can be imagined.

These moderate Views in the Business of Religion and Reformation would likewise be approved by your Honour I am certain Sir: But inasmuch as you do not only bear the Name of that wise Burger-master *Cornelius Hooft*, your grandfather of happy Memory, but particularly endeavour to imitate him in his Moderation in Religious Matters; therefore you don't think it sufficient to exercise your self in the Knowledge of Municipal Laws and in that Polity which becomes one of our Governours; but as a Christian being also called to higher things, you make it your Business to look into Holy, Ecclesiastick and Prophane History, and daily to find out what Equity, what Liberty, what Indulgence and Toleration ought to be allow'd in Christendom, and particularly in our own Nation, with respect to the modern Disputes about Religion, *where no Judge upon Earth is appointed, but where every one is to judge for himself*, whether Little or Great, whether Teacher or Learner: What God, what Reason, what Charity, what the Privileges of our Country, what the Common-sense of Church and State requires in these Matters. And this your Honour's laudable Diligence in so worthy an Employment, emboldens me to inscribe my Work to you, not only as perhaps containing what may be useful to your Christian

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Views;



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Views; but also by such a small Present, for want of a better, to own your great Favours and undeserved Friendship. Accept therefore this Token of my Gratitude in the best Sense, and live long for the Good of your Country and City which is the wise Foster-mother of Liberty and the Strength and Glory of *Holland*.

May the most Merciful God and CHRIST the Saviour of the World bless your Honour with all kind of Happiness. Thus wishes,

S I R,

*Your most obliged*

*and most Humble Servant,*

Gerrard Brande





THE  
Author's PREFACE  
TO THE  
READER.



HE writing of Histories, memorable Events, and Actions of Men, was always attended with Difficulties and Dangers, not only on account of what was expected from the Writer and from the Writing ; but also, because Truth, the very Life and Soul of History, is commonly hated, and produces Hatred. 'Tis an ancient Defect in Humane Nature, that we are much more inclined to do Evil, than to Read, or to hear Speak of that which is Evil. And it is likewise found by experience, which is indeed to be  
b 2 lamented,

## The Author's PREFACE

lamented, that the Number of evil Men, and consequently of evil Actions, have always far exceeded good ones. So that among so many Vices and Faults of Men, there is much more to Blame, than to Commend. This has been the Reason, that Evil has been mostly the Object of History, or, that Historians have been chiefly taken up in recording Matters that were displeasing to evil Men : Here a Writer of History cannot escape Hatred ; for as it is one of his principal Obligations to say nothing that is False, nor to forbear saying anything that is True, nor to suppress or conceal any Virtues ; so Truth does particularly require of him, that together with the bad Qualities of his Friends, he should impartially relate the good ones of his Enemies. Evil Designs, Words, and Actions, are to be mentioned, to the end that other Men may be deterr'd from the same, on account of the Infamy and Dishonour that will be derived to Posterity. For which reason an Author must devest himself both of Favour and Prejudice, of Love and Hatred for any Man, and his Love for Truth must get the better of all his other Passions. Being free, he is bound to love all Freedom of Speech consistent with Truth, and to value and respect no body. Such was  
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## to the READER.

Thucydides that famous Historian, who being driven into Banishment by the Athenians, has not discovered in his Writings the least Token of Displeasure against them; nor not even against Cleo and Brasidas the principal Actors in his Misfortunes. Polybius also has not deserved lesser Praise in his most instructive History, since he would never pass by that which deserved Blame on any account of Friendship, nor that which deserv'd Praise, on any account of Enmity. Thus, he has not scrupled to re-bearse the Faults of his Father Lycortas, nor of Philopoemen whom he loved as his Father. Aeneas Sylvius testifies of Otto Bishop of Frisingen, who was Nephew, Brother and Uncle of Emperors (in *Australis Historiæ Fragmento*) how he, tho' writing the Actions of his own Brother and Nephew, that were Enemies of the Pope of Rome, did so religiously adhere to the Laws of an Historian, that neither his Kindred and Friendship were hurt by Truth, nor Truth by them. Thus behaved in our Days that famous Dutchman Hugo Grotius, who in his History extoll'd the Praises of no Man higher, with respect to Military Courage and Bravery,



## The Author's P R E F A C E

than his, who, as he thought, had done him the greatest Injustice in relation to Civil Affairs; a plain sign that no particular Injury bias'd his Mind, nor with-held his Pen from writing that which he owed to Truth, his Country, and to those that had defended the same.

But those who have been the great Assertors of Truth, have most frequently drawn upon themselves the greatest Hatred of base and envious Persons. Innocent Truth begets Enmity. The vilest Men set themselves against Truth and the Writers thereof, especially when they speak in favour of oppressed Virtue, and to the reproach of Tyranny. Sincerity and Freedom in Writing stirs up Persecutions against the Witnesses for Truth; wherefore some have chose rather to write ancient than modern or late Transactions; and Politic Tacitus has very well represented (Annal. IV.) how dangerous a thing it was for an Historian to mention things of too fresh a date. However, in vain do Tyrants oppose Violence against Truth. Tho' to please Tiberius, the History of Cremutius was sacrificed to the Flames, it was nevertheless privately handed about, afterwards publickly, and read with great greediness. For which reason (says the same Tacitus in the place above.

bovemention'd) I cannot but laugh at the  
 Madness and Folly of those who perswade  
 themselves, that by vertue of their present  
 Power they can extinguish the Memory  
 of future Ages. Whereas, on the contrary,  
 the more you punish the Mind, the more  
 you propagate the Authority thereof: And  
 accordingly, foreign Princes that have used  
 such cruel Methods, have only procured  
 ignominy to themselves, and Honour to  
 their Subjects. *Tho' Truth may be oppress'd,*  
*it can't be suppress'd: It will never be wholly*  
*subdued: It will make its way through all*  
*Oppositions and Difficulties: Tho' it be defiled*  
*and even buried for a while, Time will purifie*  
*it again, and its Resurrection will be with grea-*  
*ter Lustre.* This made the Ancients say, that  
 Truth was the Daughter of Time. Most cer-  
 tainly (*says Polybius in Excerptis Lib. XII.*)  
 I hold that Nature has appointed Truth  
 for the great Goddess of Mankind, and  
 has endow'd her with mighty Power. For  
 even when she is opposed and assaulted by  
 all Men, so that oftentimes probable Con-  
 jectures are accounted Lies, then it is that,  
 I know not how, she insinuates herself  
 into the Minds of Men, and unexpectedly

## The Author's P R E F A C E

exerts her Strength, or after having been long overwhelm'd in Darkness, does at last conquer through her innate Force, attains her Ends, and triumphs over Falshood. *Let us hear what the Father of the Roman Eloquence (Orat. pro Coelio) says upon the same Subject.* O mighty Power of Truth, which easily defends itself against Humane Ingenuity, Craft, and Management, and against all the Wiles and Snares thereof. *And elsewhere (Orat. in Vatinius)* Truth does always carry such a Force along with it, that it can't be overcome, neither by the Fallacy, Art nor Ingenuity of Men. And tho' she had no Advocate nor Patron in her Cause, yet she would be able to defend herself. *Again (in his Orat. pro Cluentio) he says,* Truth being press'd down by the Wick- edness of many Men, will emerge for all that, and the obstructed Justification of Innocency will take breath.

*It is a good Saying of somebody's, that* altho' Kings are invested by G O D with an uncircumscribed Power, insomuch that they can do almost all things; yet as much as the Power of G O D surpasses that  
of

## to the READER

of Kings, so much is Truth, which receives its Force from GOD, more mighty than Kings themselves. Truth (as Zeruubabel /ays) remains, and will prevail for ever. She wants no humane Protection, for GOD, the God of Truth, does always cause her to live and speak by the Mouths and Pens of the bravest and most virtuous Men. \* We read of that great Historian Thuanus, that the most zealous Papists opposed his Writing and Publishing his History. He spake Truths that could not be born in the Court of Rome. Some were for entirely suppressing his Book, others were for censuring, curtailing and correcting it after their own Fancy. He was prest to omit the Account of the Council of Trent, and other remarkable Matters. But a few Years after, the same Truths broke out from the Pen of Paulus Sarpinus Servita, a Divine of the Republick of Venice. The other obscured and suppress'd Pieces have come to light in our Days. Truth and Freedom of Writing has no where met with so great Opposition, as from the Papacy. To this tended all the Oaths, whereby the Bishops and Regular Clergy were bound  
to

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\* See the French Letters to Joseph Scaliger, p. 163, 420.



## The Author's P R E F A C E

to the See of Rome. Pius the Second durst even assert \* that it was contrary to the Episcopal Oath, to speak such Truths as were prejudicial to the Pope. The more this Head, and the Members of the Romish Church recede from the Simplicity of primitive Christianity, and the more they burden the People with humane Impositions, the more they endeavour to restrain the Liberty of Writing. From thence proceeded that Castration, Corruption of many old Authors, and the Prohibition of new ones, unless they would yield themselves Slaves to Men. These Ecclesiastics that assumed so much to themselves, and who thro' their Ambition, Pride, Covetousness and imperious Temper were become an Eye and Heart-sore to every body, could not bear the Freedom of an historical Stile. The righteous Judgment which Truth pronounced in History upon the Fame and Reputation both of Small and Great, they sought by Violence to suppress. But their Attempts were vain; especially when the Art of Printing produced more Books than they were able to burn, and so many Countries had shaken off the Romish Yoke. In such a Country, in  
Hol.

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\* In Paralipomenis Abbatis Urspergensis.

## TO THE READER.

Holland for instance, where Popery and the Inquisition had been driven out by the Sword, where Liberty and Truth met with the securest shelter, of which we may say with much more reason, what Tacitus, and after him Thucydides, said of his Country; namely, that thro' the wise and righteous Government of the Magistrats, It was lawful for every Man to think what he would, and to speak what he thought: In such a Country have I the Happiness of being born, and of living under the most just and moderate Government in the whole Earth. This has inspired me with the Courage of writing an Ecclesiastical History of the Reformation, without fearing any Popery or unlawful Violence, or ill Will from the several Communities of Clergymen that dwell in this Land. The Favour which this Work, or the first Ten Books of it, publish'd in the Year 1663, met with from many of the Discreetest of every Community of the Reformed Christians, nay, even of some Romanists too, has encouraged me to pursue the same with that Zeal and Faithfulness which the Weight and Importance of the Matter deserves. I confess, that some of the described Transactions have not been acceptable to all, particularly to those that were of Opinion,

## The Author's P R E F A C E

nion, that Ecclesiastical Men and Things ought to be handled tenderly and respectfully, and that therefore the recording their Miscarriages might be prejudicial to the Church. But such People should consider, that what is sometimes said of a few Persons, is not to be imputed to the whole Order, nor even to the Majority thereof; and that what is said of a few, or of many, yea of a whole Body of Men, may serve for the Warning and Instruction of their Successors. Kings and Princes (says Grotius in his Defence XIX. 128.) must be contented that some of their own Degree should be painted in History with all their Defects; Why then should the Clergy escape? In the Histories of the Bible that were written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, the Faults, Miscarriages and Vices of the Anointed and Priests of the Lord were not concealed, but, together with their Punishments, publicly declared for the Good of others. Let therefore the false Steps and evil Actions of our Ancestors render their Posterity wiser and better, so that the Young, which seldom happens, may reform the Old. For History, to speak in the words of Diodorus Siculus, is the Repository of the Virtues of Illustrious Persons, the Witness

## to the READER.

ness of the Crimes of wicked Men, and the Benefactress of the whole Humane Race. And as Cicero says, She is the School of Wisdom, the Mistress of our Education, and the Mother of Discretion: She teaches us what we should avoid, and what we should follow: She is the Mirror of our Manners and Behaviour, and even the very best Mirror since, speaking Truth without Flattery, she shows us our Deformities as well as our Beauties, and of those too who will not look into her: She is such a Mirror as represents the Rewards of Good Men, and the Punishments of Bad; in her we are taught both by Words and Deeds; we may make use of her to dispose and adorn our Lives upon the Model of other Mens Virtues. She does also resemble the wonderful Mirror of Archimedes, which did not only represent the Images of things, but even set them on Fire at very great Distances. Thus likewise the Examples of the Ancients can influence the Minds of Posterity: For when we read of Actions, which being Praise-worthy, we are forced to commend, it immediately kindles a Desire of imitating them in generous Breasts: These Torches of Fame, if I may so say, do both enlighten and warm us. These  
Advan-



## The Author's P R E F A C E

*Advantages may be expected, if Men would read or write Events, without Partiality, and with Minds and Dispositions that have no other View but to learn Truth. Then we should find some among the Posterity of the most violent Churchmen, as there are really some now in this Country, who by qualifying the Rigour of their Ancestors with their own good Temper and Moderation, have supplied the Historians with Matter for edifying Examples. As for me, tho' I live in a Community that is not only separated from Popery as far as possible, but also is unfortunately divided from some of the Reformed Churches; yet no Friendship for a Party has been able so far to blind the Eyes of my Reason, as to hinder me from discovering and acknowledging Merit and Virtue where-ever I meet it, even among Papists themselves, and much more among Protestants, who have either amended their Errors, or attempted to do it. Nor have I any more concealed or excused the Faults of Friends than those of our Enemies. I am the more bold to say so, since one of the greatest Lights and oldest Ministers of the Reformed Christians*

## to the READER.

Christians in Holland, after having read the first Impression of this Work, has vouchsafed to declare with his own Mouth, that he esteem'd my History impartial and useful; after having premised something which deserves to be mention'd here. He complain'd, that he had found something in that Work relating to his Grandfather, who had been no small Instrument in the Reformation of the Netherlands, by which he was represented as a very warm and partial Man to his Sect, giving me also some Instances of the Man's Moderation and Discretion upon other Occasions: But when he had heard and weigh'd the Vouchers I produced for what I had advanc'd concerning his said Grandfather, this just and impartial Man cry'd out; You have convinced me, 'tis Truth, and I prefer it to my Parents, and above all other Considerations. Thus Truth brings us under Subjection to herself, and at the same time sets us free from all other Servitude. They that peruse these Transactions with such Eyes, will not easily be shockt at their Friend's Faults, but will bewail Humane Infirmities and amend them.

## The Author's P R E F A C E

*them. They will likewise upon various Occasions find sufficient Matter to sow in their Hearts the Seeds of Prudence, Moderation, Reasonableness and Gentleness, with respect to religious Concerns and the Objects of Faith, and above all, the Seed of Love, the Mother of Unity, the Nurse of all Virtues, ( I am quoting the Words of \* Casaubon ) the only Conqueror and Destroyer of all Heresies ; which alone is able to quell Heresies when they first spring up, and which even prevents their springing up at all. If, as I hope my Writing can any ways contribute thereto, I shall not fail of the Reward of my Labour. And tho' I should not be able to please every body, I shall be contented if I can be but useful to never so few good temper'd People. That shall sufficiently encourage me to proceed in the same Way I have begun. My chiefeft Aim shall continue to be, to set Truth simply before the Eyes of all Men. For, as Cicero says ; that which is True, Sincere and Simple, does best agree with Humane Nature. But as Truth is sometimes so evident, that nothing can cloud it, so likewise there is sometimes*  
*a good*

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\* Casaub. in præfat. G. Nysseni Epist. ad Eustat. præfix. p. A. 4.

# TO THE READER.

a good deal of Pains required to find it out. The Memory of Man, says Erasmus, and justly too, is so infirm, that there can hardly be found any two Persons who will relate after the same manner what they heard at the same time. Besides, some Men look upon Events with Eyes that are blinded by preposterous and indirect Views, from whence arise Relations which obscure the Truth. This gave occasion to a Man of great Sagacity to say, that Truth comes to our Knowledge like Money to our Coffers, not without visible Abatement and great Diminution. If therefore she does not appear plainly enough in the Variety of the Matters I relate, I will take the more pains in searching into and tracing the true Disposition of things. But if, after all, I should fall short of my Design, and should wander from the Truth for want of Judgment, or by mistaking Probabilities for Realities, I beg it may be construed as not done with Design, but against my Will, after having used my utmost Endeavours to set Matters in a just light. For which reason, when I find Truth buried so deep under ground, that it will be scarce possible for me to dig her out; and when I find things intricate and uncertain, I shall

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## The Author's P R E F A C E

shall represent the Uncertain as uncertain, and the Intricate as intricate. If you observe in the Sequel of this History any Facts quite differently related by other Writers, my Defence is, that I have received them from discreet and credible Authors, whom I shall for the most part quote either in the Text itself, or in the Margin.

Of these Facts, some perhaps may have been represented wrong, on purpose to serve a Party, and some out of Ignorance; wherefore I thought it my Duty to correct and amend such Mistakes. If I have happen'd to pass over some things in silence, it has been only for want of due Information, or I had reason to suspect what others had said upon that Subject. I did not think my self at liberty to follow blindly the Spur of Partiship, which always draws us away from Truth. If at any time I slightly touch upon a Matter, and say but little of it, 'tis not without reason. I am of Erasmus's Mind therein; Truth don't want many Words, and that is best remember'd, which is most concisely related. We do likewise affect to shorten those Accounts upon which others have perhaps dwelt too long. Upon other Occasions we have been more prolix and copious, as for instance, in such Matters as have not

## to the READER.

been yet publish'd to the World ; it may be also, according to some Mens Opinion, too tedious. Yet some minute Matters have oftentimes, on account of their Certainty, or other Circumstances, stronger Influence on our Minds, than much greater things that are less certain. You will find in some places Matters of State and War interspers'd with those of the Church, but it could not be avoided ; for who knows not how close those Matters stuck to the Ecclesiastical Affairs, sometimes obstructing, and sometimes promoting the Business of Reformation ? I pass by foreign Transactions, unless when they have any particular relation to our History, and tended to instruct or warn us in things of moment. That we have sometimes been entirely silent, or cautiously touch'd upon the Causes and Ends of Events, and been tender of passing Judgment on them, proceeded partly, because we could not always penetrate into the secret Springs of Affairs, nor the Knowledge of what pass'd in private Assemblies and close Councils ; and partly too, because some things were of their own Nature, and from the Circumstances attending them, sufficiently manifest ; and, lastly, to avoid, as much as we could, all Appearances of Partiship. Does not also the bare Rela-

## The Author's P R E F A C E

tion of some Matters make us to understand very often, from what Corner the Wind blows, whether it tends, and what is well or ill design'd thereby? In some places I am obliged to speak (which naturally occasions a diversity of Style) in the Words, and to use the Arguments of other Persons. When I am obliged so to do, I signify the same in the Margin, especially when I quote the Judgment of Persons or Things, and of Doctrines deduced from the Nature of Events. This I do for the Benefit of my Reader: For tho' I should be able to say the same, or as good, yet my own Opinion would not have the same Force, or meet with equal Credit. It is also entirely peculiar to past Transactions, that they can't be known by themselves: For which reason it should appear from that Mouth or Person they proceed; whether he that relates them has seen or heard them himself, or whether he has received them from others at the first, second, or third hand; whether from Friends or Enemies; or of such as are wholly free from the suspicion of Partiship, or such who during the Disputes kept an exact Neutrality, and the middle Way, without leaning to either side; to the end that the Truth, Probability or Improbability of things may appear by the Agreement and Disagree-

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ment of many. Some, and even Writers of great name, have formerly made use of the Works of other Men, and publish'd the Labours of the Learned for their own; which, in my Opinion, is not honourable. I think, with Erasmus, that it does not become an honest Man to dissemble, or conceal the Persons he has made use of.

It is proper that I should also inform my Reader, that I have not only noted in the Margin of this Book the Authorities I have used, but also sometimes the places where he may find more Light of, for, or against the things which I have here related. As for what I have translated out of other Languages, I have endeavoured to express the Mind of my Author as literally as the nature of our Tongue will bear, confining my self however strictly to his Meaning; from which I never depart knowingly or wilfully. The Placarts or Decrees, Remonstrances, Petitions, Speeches, Letters and other authentic Pieces, I represent, as far as is feasible or convenient, in the very words of those that drew them up, and in the Stile of their Age, to express their own Sense more clearly, and not to say in their Names things that never enter'd into their Hearts. As to my Manner

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of



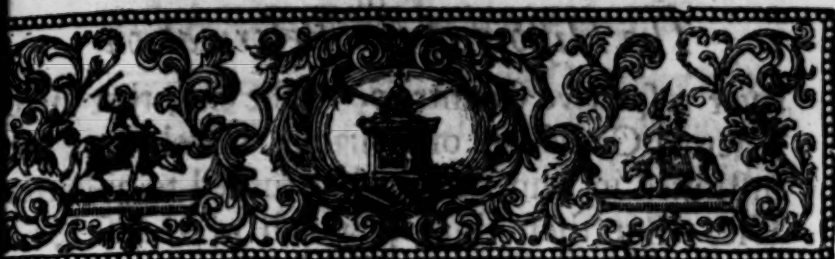
## The Author's PREFACE

of Writing, choosing, disposing and managing such a Variety of Matters, I know that many will blame and find fault with me; I wish I could say they had no reason. One's Power seldom reaches as far as one's Will: Besides, Affairs of greater Importance have hinder'd me from bestowing all the Time or Pains I ought to have done upon this Work. These things, which I would have understood not only concerning this present Volume, but likewise of the rest (which, if it pleases G O D, shall follow it) I thought myself obliged to set before my Reader, to the end, that he might judge with more Equity of my History and the Purpose thereof.

Read then free from the Passions of Love or Hatred, and farewell.

Dated from AMSTERDAM,  
24th October, 1671.



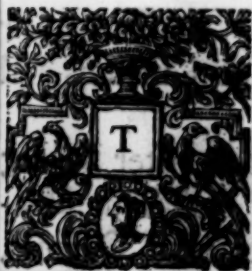


*Gerrard Brandt's*  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**REFORMATION,**  
And other Ecclesiastical Events  
IN THE  
*LOW-COUNTRIES.*

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**BOOK I.**

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THE Christian Religion was in the first Ages <sup>1</sup> venerable for its Simplicity ; but after the Teachers of several Kinds of Philosophy became Christians, they endeavour'd to adorn the said Religion with the Rules of their Art ; so did the *Jews, Greeks* and others with the Ceremonies of their

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<sup>1</sup> Grot. Annal. Lib. I. p. 8, 9.

## 2 *The History of the Reformation*

their respective Countries, to the end, that those external Grandeurs of Religion, which were not instituted in vain, might be turned to a better Use. But these things, which were left for a great while at liberty to all Men, and were only receiv'd by the private Approbation of some Persons or Churches, prevail'd gradually by Practice; and at length, by the Perswasion of the Teachers, and Consent of Councils, being turn'd into a Law, were made necessary, and (the profound Ignorance of the illeterate Ages concurring) by the blind Labarinth of Controversies easily defended. In the mean while the Bishops of *Rome*, who had always great Authority in Church-affairs, excluding the Cities of *Asia* and *Egypt*, and *Constantinople* also their Rival, erected a certain Spiritual Kingdom, usurp'd the supreme Power, appointed Cardinals as their Assessors or Counsellors, and so laid the Foundation of their long-lasting Tyranny, none at first opposing their Authority; forasmuch as many of the European People had received the Christian Religion by the Instruction of such as were sent to 'em from *Rome*. This is the reason why the Latin, or Romish Church, has introduced its Customs and Languages in all Countries.

These Bishops, now call'd Popes, after having acquired a Right of ordering all Religious Matters, took upon them to give out new Decrees, to interpret the Old, and to debar the Common People the Use of the Scriptures, pretending that it would be of very dangerous Consequence, if Religion, the most important thing in the world,

should

should be subjected to the stupid Curiosity of the Vulgar. By these Proceedings they so order'd Matters, that every thing was calculated for their own Honour and Profit. Then it was the Clergy fell into such Irregularities of their Lives and Manners, that even they themselves were obliged to own that some Remedy was wanting; and this necessarily tended to a Reformation, or to the amending and putting of Doctrines and Practice upon the ancient foot. But they that could and ought to do most therein, namely the Higher Powers both Temporal and Spiritual, did not trouble themselves about it, and the Ecclesiastical or Papal Court especially, was the most averse of all. Wherefore there arose from time to time meaner People in the Church, who observing its Defects and Abuses, began here and there to cry out against them, and to set their Hands to the Work of Reformation. But the Power of the Pope was now grown so great, that they who had begun to move this Stone without him (to say nothing of doing it in opposition to him) to the end, that he and his Court might be reduced to Order, were presently crush'd; especially, since he had the Temporal Sword at hand, and at his service, to root out whatever opposed him and the Church; for this was the Cant, even then.

But the Blood of those that were murder'd on this Occasion, prov'd the Seed of the Church, and accidentally the Cause of much Good.

<sup>1</sup> Grot. Defence, Ch. 3. <sup>2</sup> Hooft's History of the Netherlands.  
<sup>3</sup> Uiremb. Church History, P. 23, 141.



#### 4 *The History of the Reformation*

Good and of much Evil. For the Butchering such a vast number of Persons, most of whom being Simple and Innocent, and who really sought nothing but God and their own Salvation, contributed very much to the Humility, Zeal, and the Amendment of Mens Lives : It excited in them some Charity for the Sufferers, and Compassion of their Miseries ; but together with it, an unchristian Hatred of the Persecutors, and a revengeful Opposition of those wicked Men even with Arms ; from whence there often resulted greater Evils than those they endeavour'd to prevent. However God, who, by the Guidance of his Providence, is able to turn the Evil which He abhors into Good, was pleased to give Success to these Attempts, and by the Reformation, such as it was, to enervate and even to drive out Popery from several Churches and Countries : And on the contrary, to establish the Unity of Faith and Necessary Truths in many Places in such manner, as that the mutual Toleration of unnecessary Opinions and Liberty of Conscience, without which no Religion can subsist, durst show themselves in some Christian Congregations, which Christ the Prince of Peace allows to prevail, for the healing of those needless Divisions, that do often drive Truth itself as well as Charity out of the Church.

This Reformation may be esteem'd to have had its Rise not only when Truth prevail'd, but even from those early Times when People began to struggle against the creeping-in of scandalous

dalous Errors and evil Manners, and against the breaking out of Ecclesiastical Greatness, that is to say, some hundreds of Years before *Luther* was raised up, and it shew'd itself in almost all parts of Christendom; for even the first Discovery and Resistance of these Evils, altho' at that time hardly taken notice of, and little hearken'd to, has since contributed to mend Posterity, to whom the Truth that at first was only presented to Men as at a distance, obscurely and by piece-meals, at last, and almost at once, broke out more nearly and clearly. Now having collected from various Accounts foreign and domestic, ancient and modern, printed and in Manuscript (so far as they relate to the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Reformation in the *Low-Countries*) all that gave an Occasion to those great Revolutions in Church-Affairs, together with the memorable Transactions and Events that happen'd thereupon, or necessarily follow'd from thence, I do solemnly declare, that I have not done it to propagate or encourage any particular Schisms or bitter Animosities; but only by representing\* those things which should either be follow'd or avoided, to render some small service to common Christianity in all those Parts where my Mother Tongue is spoken or understood.

WE

## 6 *The History of the Reformation*

**W**E read, <sup>1</sup> that in the Year 712, a dreadful Schism, which arose at *Ghent*, was entirely appeased, by reforming the Manners and Lives of the Clergy. But whether this Reformation was brought to pass in opposition to the Papal Authority or no, is not related. Some are of Opinion, that the Bishops of *Rome* in those Times understood the word *Reformation* differently from what we now do, and that under this Cloak was concealed a deep Mystery of State: <sup>2</sup> For in the Year 719, *Gregory II.* sent *Winifrid* a Monk from *England* to *Germany*, not only with Orders to Preach the Gospel among the People that were still Heathens, but likewise in those places, where the Christian Religion had been long before planted, and in neighbouring Countries to reform the Abuses and Irregularities of the Clergy, and at the same time to introduce the Customs and Ceremonies of the Romish Church. That this last Errant, and the Reduction of other Churches, was the principal Design of this Mission, appears from <sup>3</sup> the Oath of Fidelity, which *Winifrid* took to *Gregory*: It runs thus: *I promise St. Peter and his Vicegerent, that I will serve with all Sincerity, and faithfully discharge my Mission for the Benefit of the Church— If I behave myself otherwise, let the Vengeance* of

<sup>1</sup> Nich. Burgund. Hist Belg. L. II. p. 127. P. C. Hooft's Hist. I. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Vignier Hist. de l'Eglise, p. 180. ex I. Avent. Boior. An. Lib. III. p. 213. Winssem.

Chron. Fris. II. p. 66, &c. Chem. Conc. Trid. p. 507.

<sup>3</sup> Mornæi Hist de la Pap. p. 159. II. Conc. Decret. Gregor. II.

of Ananias and Saphira light upon me in the last Judgment. He wrote afterwards to Pope Zachary in the following manner: <sup>1</sup> I shall not fail to invite and incline all the Disciples and Hearers, as many as God shall grant me in this Mission, to the Obedience of the Apostolick Chair. And when afterwards he had reduced all the Churches that had been built and settled before under the Rule and Government of the Pope, it was called, <sup>2</sup> the Good Condition, the Promoting the Unity and the Reformation of the Christian Churches; <sup>3</sup> to be converted to St. Peter, whom God had given them for their Master and Protector.

Several Bishops who opposed these Incroachments of the Romish Church, and stood up for the Liberty of their own Churches and Consciences, were deposed <sup>4</sup> by the Contrivance and Management of Winifrid. To oppose the Romish Ceremonies, or to excel in Learning was Heresie. However, they that were wrong'd did not scruple to reproach him for these Injuries, and even to call him <sup>5</sup> a Preacher of Lies, a Violater of Peace, Right and Religion. On the other hand, he acquir'd to himself by his Zeal for the Papacy, the Name of <sup>6</sup> Boniface, and <sup>7</sup> Apostle of Germany, together with the Office of Archbishop of Mentz, and afterwards of Utrecht or Friesland,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. in Epist. Decr. Zachar.

<sup>2</sup> Vignier. p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Morn. f. 160. a.

<sup>4</sup> Merula's Treasure of Times, p. 3, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Vign. p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> Morn. f. 161. a.

<sup>7</sup> Vign. p. 155. and Morn. f. 160. a.

<sup>8</sup> Buchel. Not. ad Bekam.

p. 16. a.

<sup>9</sup> Morn. f. 159. b.



## 8 *The History of the Reformation*

*Friesland* in the stead of *Willebrood*<sup>1</sup> who in the Year 690, was sent thither from *England*, to preach the Christian Religion in the said Country, and about six Years after was consecrated the first Archbishop of the *Frieslanders* by <sup>2</sup>Pope *Sergius*. But <sup>3</sup>others are of Opinion, that the Light of the Gospel shone earlier in those Parts. <sup>4</sup>This same *Boniface*, together with two and fifty other Ecclesiasticks, was massacred at *Dockum* in the Year 752. <sup>5</sup>Because, as some pretend, that he preach'd the Gospel there, but as others say, because he attempted to introduce the Romish Ceremonies; or <sup>6</sup>out of Hatred to him for having had a Hand in deposing <sup>7</sup>*Childeric* or *Hilderic* King of *France*, and setting <sup>8</sup>*Pe-pin* in his place. He was Archbishop of the *Frisians*, as has been before observ'd<sup>9</sup>, under which Name in those Days the Inhabitants of these and other adjacent Countries were included. The Name of *Holland*<sup>10</sup> as some think, was not then known, but was introduced at least an hundred Years later by the *Normans*. Accordingly,

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| <p><sup>1</sup> Chron. Bekæ. p. 8. Hist. Hedæ. p. 25. P. Winssem. Chr. Fris. II. 57.</p> <p><sup>2</sup> Buchel. Not. ad Bek. p. 12.</p> <p><sup>3</sup> Merula, p. 498, &amp;c. J. Beka. p. 8, &amp;c. W. Heda. p. 15, &amp;c. Ub. Emm. Hist. Fris. L. III. p. 45, &amp;c. P. Bert. Germ. L. I. c. 17. Winssem. I. f. 40. 11. f. 54. &amp;c. Of the farther planting Christianity here, read the said Ubi Emm. L. III. p. 49. L. IV. p. 50, &amp;c.</p> <p><sup>4</sup> Beka, p. 16, &amp;c. Winssem. II. p. 70. Bert. Germ. I.</p> | <p>p. 137. Ub. Em. IV. 61.</p> <p><sup>5</sup> Merula, p. 524.</p> <p><sup>6</sup> Vign. p. 189.</p> <p><sup>7</sup> Chron. Franc. Fuld. p. 4. Mutii Chron. Germ. VI. p. 47.</p> <p><sup>8</sup> Gessel. Hist. p. 16. Merula, p. 524, &amp;c.</p> <p><sup>9</sup> Buchel. in Hedam, p. 7. and Hed. p. 131. Boxborn. Theatr. Hol. p. 7. Grot. Ant. Reip. Bat. p. 56, &amp;c. Scriver. Old Bat. p. 3. Vos. Ann. Lib. 5.</p> <p><sup>10</sup> Old Bat. p. 36, &amp;c. Buchel ad Bek. p. 7, &amp;c. Hadr. Jun. Bat. p. 172.</p> |
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Accordingly, from the strictest Enquiry into the Antiquities of our Country, we find that the County or Earldom of *Holland* was first so called about the Year 913, in the Time of *Didrick* the First, when he delivered it from the *Barbarians*,<sup>1</sup> being then in Subjection to the other Kingdom; nor did the first Counts bear the Title of *Holland*,<sup>2</sup> till about the Year 1033, or yet later.

That *Willebrood* and *Winifrid*, or *Boniface*, were so intimately united to the Papal Chair, and did so early introduce into these Churches the Romish Innovations and Superstitions, and that more such things were design'd, appears<sup>4</sup> from their being accused of enslaving the *German* Churches to the Pope, of Honouring Saints and Relicks, asserting a Purgatory, Praying for the Dead, hindering the Clergy from Marrying, and of carrying a Company of Women about with them, which gave great Scandal. Thus were the Tares sown together with the good Seed, and thus they sprang up.

In the Year 752, there happen'd a great Disturbance at *Ghent*, upon the account of Images, which some endeavour'd to set up in the Churches to worship 'em, whilst others opposed it; inso-much<sup>5</sup> that the Abbot *Fulbertus* was kill'd in the Tumult. After this, about a hundred Years, that is, about the Year 860, or later, some

<sup>1</sup> Old Bat. p. 62, &c. Mer.  
p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> Grot. Reip. Bat. p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Old Bat. p. 54, 110, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Avent. Bojor. Ann. Mut.  
Chron. V. p. 74. Chemnitz

Conc. Trid. p. 546. Merula's  
*Treasure of Times*, p. 517.

<sup>5</sup> Vign. p. 138. from Jac.  
Meijer's Chron. Fland. Some  
Bishops oppose Pope Nicolas I.

some of the Clergy, Subjects of King *Lopharius*, (whose Kingdom of *Austrasia*, since called *Lotharingia* or *Lorrain*, contain'd part of *Old Belgium* and of our *Netherlands*; to which also about that time were subject the Bishopricks of *Utrecht*, *Cambray*, *Tournay*, *Liege*, *Cologne*, *Treves*, *Metz*, *Toul*, *Verdun* and *Strasburg*) strenuously oppos'd the Papal Domination.<sup>3</sup> *Nicolas* the First was then possess'd of the See of *Rome*: He was a Pope of great Name among his People. He suffer'd the Emperor *Lodovicus* the Second, twice to lead his Horse by the Bridle, and to walk about a Bow-shot by his Side, whilst he himself rode.<sup>4</sup> He declared his Decrees equal to the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, and allow'd the Name of God to be given to him; for which reason he would not be limited by any earthly Powers. He also forbade Priests to marry,<sup>5</sup> on pain of Excommunication. He us'd great Partiality, conniving at the Misbehaviour of some, and punishing the Faults of others with much Severity, and those over whom he had no Authority, thereby to extend the Bounds of his Dominion.<sup>6</sup> He receiv'd at *Rome* with open Arms the Intendant or Master of the Forests of *Flanders*, \* *Baldwin*, who had violated

*Judith*

<sup>3</sup> Boxh. Hist. Univ. p. 468, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Blondel Considerat. de Relig. & d'Etat. p. 16, 17.

<sup>3</sup> T. Gess. Hist. Eccles. II. p. 89. Vignier. p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Morn. f. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. f. 185, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Vignier, p. 220. Morn. f. 186. Gess. Hist. II. p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> Morn. f. 184.

<sup>7</sup> Some Historians are of Opinion, that this *Baldwin* was the first Earl of *Flanders*; but others pretend, that the Country was not erected into an Earldom till above fifty Years after. See *Meursius*, p. 579. *Boxhorn*, Theatre of Holl. Chap. VIII. p. 61. & *Erasm. Hist. Univ.* p. 791.



*Judith* Daughter of *Charles the Bald*, King of *France*. On the contrary, he required King *Lombardus* to take to him again his Consort *Teudberg*, whom he had repudiated<sup>1</sup>, as being too near of kin to him, or<sup>2</sup> because of her scandalous Life as some think, or lastly, that he might espouse his Concubine *Valdrada* as others say. <sup>3</sup> However, the Divorce was judged and declared lawful by the Synod at *Aix la Chapelle*, where *Hunger* the Eleventh Bishop of *Utrecht* was present, and at *Metz*, where by reason of his Illness he could not appear. But *Nicolas* pretended, that the last Resort or final Determination of the Matter belong'd to him, and therefore cited those Bishops, who had approved the Divorce, to *Rome*. Whereupon <sup>4</sup>*Gunther* and <sup>5</sup>*Tetgaud*, the Archbishops of *Cologne* and *Treves*, were delegated thither in the Name of all the rest. What happen'd to them there, and how they were received, may be gather'd in some manner from this Letter, which at their Return Home they wrote to the Pope.

GUNTHER and TETGAUD to Pope NICOLAS.

THE Fathers, Bishops and the Brethren,  
 Our <sup>6</sup>Suffragans sent us to you. We  
 came likewise very readily to *Rome*, and de-  
 livered

<sup>1</sup> Reginonis Chron. II. p. 47.  
<sup>2</sup> Morn. f. 184.

Morn. f. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Blondel de Papa foem. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Co-episcopi. See concerning  
 this word Buchel. ad Bek. p. 13.

Annal. Franc. a Pitheo edit.

Avent. Boij Annal. IV. 329.

28. Boxhorn. Hist. Univ.

Catal. Test. Verit. IX. 137.

473.

Merula, p. 582. Morn. f. 188.

& Vid. Blondel supra &

Vign. p. 224.



## 12 *The History of the Reformation*

“ liver’d to you our Documents and Vouchers,  
“ to the end, that if they contained any thing  
“ which you should think a Fault or Error, you  
“ might admonish us tenderly and decently, as  
“ becomes a wise Father or Instructor. But af-  
“ ter having received our Writings for above the  
“ space of twenty Days, you did not so much as  
“ return us an Answer even by a Messenger,  
“ so far were you from admitting us into your  
“ Prefence. At last, having waited almost a  
“ Month, we were summon’d before you, whi-  
“ ther, without delay, we came, suspecting no  
“ Evil: But you treated us like Rogues and Rob-  
“ bers; for as soon as we enter’d your House,  
“ we found ourselves surrounded by a Company  
“ of rugged Fellows, and being bereaved of all  
“ humane Assistance, we and our People were  
“ interdicted the Use of all holy and profane  
“ things. There did you cause to be pronounc’d  
“ against us (contrary to all Justice and Equity,  
“ contrary to the Decrees and Practice of the  
“ Ancients, without any Ecclesiastical Synod  
“ or Assembly, without the Prefence and Con-  
“ currence of any Archbishop or Bishop, with-  
“ out any previous mention on your own part  
“ of our erroneous Proceedings, and without  
“ having confuted us by any Reasons, Argu-  
“ ments, Witness or Writing) a sudden and un-  
“ expected, and very scandalous Sentence and  
“ Condemnation inconsistent with the Christian  
“ Religion, out of a Paper; besides insulting us  
“ your Brethren and Fellow Servants in Christ  
“ with contemptuous Language. The Immor-

tal King has made his Queen and Spouse the Church a noble and everlasting Provision for her Family, with a Dowry that is incorruptible, and given her an eternal Crown and Scepter. He gave her also the Power to Canonize Saints, to open Heaven, to heal the Sick, and to bestow Immortality on the Dead. All which Benefits you like a Thief intercept; you set up your self in the Temple as God; instead of Pastor, you are become a Wolf to the Sheep; you slay the Living; you draw the Strong from Heaven, beating and thrusting them into Hell; you hide a Sword that is anointed with Honey; by you the Dead are hinder'd from living again: You would make us believe you are a supreme Bishop, but you rather behave like a Tyrant; you are a Wolf under the Disguise of a Shepherd; whereas you ought to be a Servant of Servants (as you call your self) you endeavour to become a Lord of Lords — Whatever you desire you think is lawful: You are turn'd a Deceiver of Christians. For all which Reasons neither We, nor our Brethren and Friends do regard or submit our selves to your Commands; neither know we your Voice, nor fear your Bulls and Thunder. You condemn all for Impious and Irreligious that don't obey your Determinations, forbidding them the Use of the Sacraments. We smite you with your own Sword, because you bring the Commands of God into Contempt, dissolving the Unity of Spiritual Assemblies, and

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“ violating Peace, the eternal Symbol of the Prince  
 “ of Heaven. The Holy Ghost is the Builder  
 “ of all Churches as far as the Earth extends it-  
 “ self in breadth and length. The City of our  
 “ God, of which we are the Burghers, reaches  
 “ to all the Regions of the Heavens; and it is  
 “ greater than that City, which by the holy  
 “ Prophets is named *Babylon*, because this latter  
 “ assumes the Godhead to it self, makes her self  
 “ Heaven, boasts that she is Everlasting; pre-  
 “ tends without Grounds that she never did Err,  
 “ nor ever can.

THE Contents of this Letter, but in other Words are to be found in <sup>1</sup> the Year-Books of the *Franks*, some time since publish'd by *P. Pithæus*.  
<sup>2</sup> It is said by some Historians that *Gunther* stood out to the last against the Pope's Sentence; but others affirm, that in the Year 864, he went to *Rome*, and humbly sued for Pardon, but <sup>3</sup> found the Door of Reconciliation shut against him. From this time, for the space of 130 Years, nothing in which the Clergy of the *Low-Countries* were concern'd, appears to have been attempted against the Papal Ambition 'till the Year 992, when a Synod was convened at *Rheims*. And here the Clergy, among whom were several *Netherland* and *German* Bishops, had the Courage to depose a Bishop, who had forfeited his Character,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Annal. Franc. Fuld.* à de Rep. Eccl. Lib. III. cap. 10.  
*Pith. edit.* p. 29, &c. *Ussér.* <sup>2</sup> *Blondel de Pap. form.*  
*de Success. Eccles. Occid.* p. 38. p. 135.  
*Morn. f.* 189. *Gessel. Hist.* <sup>3</sup> *Annal. Fran. Fuld.* p. 39.  
*Part II.* p. 85. *M. A. de Dom.*

after, even without the Consent of the Bishop of Rome, whose Jurisdiction they did not acknowledge. Arnulf Bishop of Orleans their President, with great freedom spoke the following Speech. *O deplorable Rome ! (said he) which in the Days of our Forefathers didst produce so many burning and shining Lights, thou hast brought forth in our Times nothing but dismal Darknesh, such as will be detested by our Posterity* — Then he described <sup>1</sup> the then Bishop of Rome as an Antichrist, sitting in the Temple of God, and as an Idol without Love or Knowledge — *What shall we then do, proceeded he, or what Counsel shall we take ? The Gospel teaches us, that somebody seeking for Fruit on his fig-tree, but finding none, would have cut it down, but being admonish'd, he forbore : Let us therefore bear with our Primate as long as we can ; and in the mean time let us seek for spiritual Food where it is to be found. Certainly there be some in this holy Assembly who can give their Testimony, that in the <sup>2</sup> Low-Countries and Germany, both which are near us, there may be found Priests of God, and such as are Eminent Men in Matters of Religion. Wherefore it seems to me much more expedient and proper, if the Obstinacy of contending Kings did not prevent it, that we ought rather to seek in those Parts for the Judgment and Opinion of Bishops, than in that City which is now set to sale, and*

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whose

<sup>1</sup> This was John XV. Baron. | Eccl. II. p. 148. Catal. Test.  
10. Ann. 992. Morn. Hist. | Verit. p. 310. Vign. p. 257.  
e la Pap. f. 230. Gesscl. Hist. | <sup>2</sup> In Belgio & Germania.



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whose Determinations ponderate, according to the Weight of Gold.

At other times when any of the Popes incroach'd upon the Imperial Crown, some of our Clergy took the Emperor's part, and oppos'd Mitre against Mitre. <sup>1</sup> Thus was *William* the 21<sup>st</sup> Bishop of *Utrecht*, with other Bishops that stood by *Henry IV.* condemn'd in a Synod holden at *Rome*, for that he, a little before, had not only voted himself, at the Council of *Worms*, but <sup>2</sup> had likewise induced the Bishops of *Wirsburg* and *Metz*, who were alone on the other side, to vote that the Pope was in the wrong, and which rarely happen'd, to excommunicate him for the same. <sup>3</sup> The Resolutions they came to against *Hildebrand*, were as follows: That he was the first who had assumed the Papacy without the Consent of the assembled Bishops, and against the Will of the Emperor — That he had corrupted the Christian Religion with New Doctrines; that he had adapted the Holy Scriptures by his false and forced Explications, to his own private Views and Interest — That he confounded profane and holy Things; having his Ears open to devilish Calumniators, and to the Accusations of wicked Men, being himself Prosecutor, Witness and Judge — That he separated married Men from their Wives, preferring Whores to honest Women, and Whoredoms, Adulteries and infamous Matches to chaste Marriages; that

<sup>1</sup> Lamb. Scaf. p. 234. f. 261. Cent. Magdeb. XI. Morn. f. 262. Merula, p. C. IX. Col. 490.  
<sup>2</sup> L. Scaf. p. 234. Morn. p. 700. Cent. Magd. ib.  
<sup>3</sup> Morn. f. 260. Merula

he animated the People against their Priests, and the Vulgar against their Bishops; and would make every body believe, that none were rightly consecrated but such as begg'd of him, or bought of his Gold-suckers the Priestly Office; that he deceived the Common People with a Hypocritical Religion — That he prostituted the Mysteries of Religion in an Assembly of Women, and dissolved the Laws of God; that he had screw'd himself into the Management of the Popedom and Empire; that he was guilty of Treason both against the Divine and Humane Majesty, by endeavouring to deprive an anointed Emperor and very good Prince of his Life. For which Reasons the said Emperor, the Bishops, the General Council, and all Christian People, declared him the said Pope to be actually deposed — and that he was neither Pastor, Father nor Pope; but a Thief, a Murderer and a Tyrant. <sup>1</sup> Bishop William died this same Year. <sup>2</sup> It is said by some, that he was taken suddenly with a sore Distemper, and being grievously tormented in Body and Soul, he cried out in a despairing Tone, that he had lost both the present and future Life on account of the Blasphemies which wittingly and willingly he had vomited out against the Pope. But <sup>3</sup> others think that this is a Fiction, occasion'd by the Hatred of the Clergy against him, especially since neither *Beka*, nor *Heda*, nor any other of our Countrymen take

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<sup>1</sup> Heda, p. 131. Buchel. in p. 777. Bruno de Bel. Saxon. Bekam, p. 42. p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> L. Scafn. p. 235, &c. P. <sup>3</sup> Buchel. ad Bekam, p. 42. Langii Chron. ad An. 1079. ad Hedam. p. 135.

the least notice of such a Death. \* 'Tis likewise reported of him, that all his Life-time, even at the saying Mass, and almost on all Festivals, he was wont to call the Pope a forsworn Wretch, an Adulterer, and a false Apostle. His Successor *Conrad* follow'd him also in his Zeal for the Emperor. In a Synod holden at *Garstungen*, in the Year 1088, or 9. he boldly maintain'd against *Gebhard* Bishop of *Saltzburg*, who was of the *Hildebrandian* Faction, that no Pope, nor Bishop, could release Subjects from the Oaths they had taken to their Governours : That in doing so, they contemn'd the Majesty of him by whom they swore : — That *Christ* and his Apostles had exhorted us to obey *Tiberius* and *Nero*, wicked Monsters, much more then, good Princes : — That it was ambitious and haughty Prelates who had scandalously perverted these words of our Lord ; What ye loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven : — That Pope *Hildebrand* had arrogated to himself the Power of the Immortal God. The Arms of our Warfare, proceeded he, are Spiritual, not Robberies, Murders or Perjuries ; our Breast-plate, Helmet, Sword and Shield, are Peace, Love, Righteousness, the Word of God, and Faith ; Blessings which our most Christian Emperor has often begg'd of *Hildebrand* himself, but has been as often refused 'em. —

This brave Bishop *Conrad* was himself murder'd by a *Frieslander*, in the Year 1099. The Cause of his Death has been variously reported :

Some

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\* *L. Scafn. ibid.*



Some are of Opinion that the Assassin was set on by the Court of Rome, because the said Bishop had so zealously defended the Emperor. It is likewise said, that he had drawn up the Emperor's Justification, which was afterwards publish'd by *Ulricus Huttenus* from the Records at *Fulden*. But 3 others write, that this Murder was committed on the Person of *William* his Predecessor; some again ascribe it to *Venerik* Bishop of *Vercel*, or *Waltram* of *Naumburg*.

These Disputes were the Cause that Enmity and Hatred, the inseparable Companions of Schisms, increased from time to time. Every Body drew his own way. The Pope cast all the Blame on the Emperor, as the Emperor did on the Pope. Bans and Excommunications were levell'd against one another, and each Party endeavour'd to execute their own both upon Small and Great.

From hence resulted Ecclesiastical Discords, that produced very bitter Fruits. 3 *Pascal* the II<sup>d</sup>. one of the Successors of *Hildebrand*, who in the Year 1099, was chosen Pope, excommunicated the Clergy of *Liege*, as Partisans of the Emperor, and spirited up against them *Robrecht* or *Robert* Count of *Flanders*, who to please him, had a little before fallen upon, and ruined the Town of *Cambray*.

The Letter which he wrote to the said Count on that Occasion, is as follows.

PASCAL

<sup>1</sup> Buchel. ad Bekam. p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> S. Calvis. Chronolog.

<sup>3</sup> Germ. Rer. Script. Tom. I. p. 747. Gess. Hist. II. pag.

x Bibliot. Marq. Freheri.



“**P**ASCAL Bishop, Servant of the Ser-  
 vants of God, sends his beloved Son Ro-  
 bert Count of Flanders, Greeting and Apo-  
 stolical Blessing. Praised be the God of Israel  
 who works in you the force of his Strength; in  
 you I say, who being returned from Jerusalem  
 Syria, endeavour to enter into the heavenly  
 Jerusalem by the Works of a righteous War.  
 Thus it becomes a faithful General closely to  
 pursue the Enemies of his Prince. We there-  
 fore thank you, that by your wise Conduct  
 you have so effectually discharged our Or-  
 ders against the Town of *Cambray*. We do  
 hereby give you the same Orders against  
 those false excommunicated Churches of *Liege*.  
 For it is but reasonable, that they who cut  
 themselves off from the Catholick Church  
 should likewise by Catholicks be cut off from  
 all Benefit of the Church. Pursue therefore  
 not only these, but also *Henry* the Head  
 of the Hereticks, and all his Followers, with all  
 your Might, where-ever you can. Certainly  
 you will never offer up to God a more accepta-  
 ble Sacrifice, than in attacking him who sets  
 himself up against God; who seeks to destroy  
 the Kingdom of his Church; who in the  
 Temple of God erects the Idol of *Simon*  
 and who through the Condemnation of

<sup>1</sup> Baron. Annal. T. XII. p. 29. p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Vign. Hist. de l'Eglise, Catal. Test. Ver. XV

p. 377, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Morn. Hist. Pap. f. 287.

<sup>4</sup> T. Gessel. Hist. Eccl. II.

the Holy Ghost is cast out of the Church by the Princes of God, the Holy Apostles and their Vicegerents. These things therefore We give in Command to you and your Troops, upon Promise of Pardon for your Sins, and the Friendship of the Apostolick Chair. Hereby shall ye be able through much Labour and Triumphs, the Lord being your Helper, to attain to the heavenly *Jerusalem*.

Done at ALBA, 21 January.

TO this Letter the Church of *Liege* return'd a very full Answer by their Bishop and others of the Clergy, containing heavy Lamentations against the Papal Tyranny, and intermixt with free Reproaches. The Substance whereof, the whole being too long for this short Narration, is as follows: *1 What those Whirlwinds are that come from the South (says the Church of Liege) we are more sensible by Feeling than by Reading. 2 From a terrible Land, namely, from the Roman Church, is that grievous Vision declared unto us. 3 For the Bishop of Rome, the Father of all Churches, sends Letters against us to Robert Count of Flanders, of the following Import: 4 Pascal, Bishop, Servant, &c. 5 Who can help being overwhelmed with Sorrow at such Letters? 6 Not so much on account of the Dreadfulness of the Danger, as of the dreadful Novelty of the thing,*

<sup>1</sup> Isai. 21. 1.

<sup>2</sup> II. Vol. Concil. Edit. Co-  
logn. p. 809.

<sup>3</sup> Vign. p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> Morn. Hist. Pap. p. 287, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Catal. Test. Verit. XIII.

p. 380, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Gessel. Hist. II. p. 512,  
&c.

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thing, that such deplorable Letters could be writ  
by a Mother against her Daughters, supposing  
even that they had sinned against her. In the

Judgment of Solomon, the true Mo-  
thers chose rather to see her Child in

the possession of a strange Woman,  
than that it should be cut in sunder by the  
Sword of the Executioner ——— David saw

formerly the Angel standing with his Sword  
drawn against Jerusalem, and we Daughters of  
the Roman Church, see the Bishop of Rome, an  
Angel of the Lord, with his Sword drawn against  
the Church. David prayed that the People might  
not be destroyed; but our Angel puts the Sword

into Robert's Hands, and bids him smite us.  
From whence has our Angel this Sword? ———

There is one Sword of the Spirit, which is the  
Word of God — and there is another Sword  
of the Spirit, wherewith we slay the Lusts of  
our Flesh — Since then the Apostles received

no more than two Swords from the Lord, from  
whence has this Apostolical Man gotten the third  
Sword, which he has delivered to Robert his  
Armour-bearer against us? Possibly this same A-  
postolical Man has been with the Prophet, and

endeavour'd to wrest the third Sword  
out of his Hand, to lay about with it  
on every side, and to cut off the Righteous and the Wicked — As a Father he sends

Greeting to his beloved Son, and promises him  
the Apostolical Blessing: But many are of opinion,  
that the Work he has committed to him is scarce  
consistent with the Favour and Blessings of God —

Who



Who ever persecuted God's People; who ever  
persecuted the Church of Christ impune? —  
Behold, these are the Works of that righteous  
War which the Father has recommended to the  
Son, the Pope to the General of the Heavenly  
King, to wit, to fight against the People of God.  
We thank you, says he, for having executed our  
Commands against the Town of Cambray. Who  
can call to mind without Tears, that terrible De-  
solation and Ruin of the Church of Cambray!  
I, the Church of Leige, as a Daughter of Rome,  
have bewailed the Cambraians, on account of  
Kindred; but being now informed, that all which  
has befallen them is in consequence of the Apo-  
stolical Authority, my Sorrow is doubled, for  
now I begin to tremble for my Mother, lest that  
should happen to her which God threa-  
—10. 7. 1, 2.  
tens by Isaiah; Woe unto them that  
decree unrighteous Decrees! Who could have  
imagined that so great a Desolation of the  
Church, so great an Oppression of the Poor, such  
horrible Plundering and Robbing, and Massacring  
without distinction both of the Good and Bad,  
and what makes it yet worse, that all this should  
be done by Apostolical Order; if his own Mouth  
had not betray'd him? — Who incurs the  
greatest Danger, he that Commands, or he that  
Obeys? To whom is most harm done, to him  
that Acts, or to him that Suffers these things?  
What shall we say! We being astonish'd to the  
utmost degree at these Novelties, enquire from  
whence such new Examples proceed, namely,  
that the Preacher of Peace wages War against  
the



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the Church with his own Mouth, and another's Hand. When the Barbarians and Enemies of God make Incursions on us, the Canons of the Church allow even the Clergy themselves to take up Arms in defence of their Religion and Country. But that War should be made upon the Church through the Authority of her own Canons, is what we never read of in any History. We ask what we do not know; we affirm what we do know — Why are we called Excommunicated? Why is the Sword held over our Heads? What have we done worthy of Death or Excommunication against the Canonical Rules of the Church? We are all baptized to one Body, in one Spirit. When were we accused at Rome of Divisions? We think and speak the same thing with one Mouth in Christ Jesus. We don't say, I am of Paul, I am of Cephas. Are we then Excommunicated for this our Unity? — They object against us who hold the Commandments of God, that we trespass against their New Traditions. But what says our Lord to them? *Mat. 15. 3.* Why do you transgress the Commandments of God by your Tradition? Christ commands us to Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Thus also speaks St. Peter, in his first Epistle, ch. ii. v. 17, &c. and St. Paul to the Romans, ch. xiii. v. 1, 2. and Coloss. ch. iii. v. 22. — There we are bid to honour Kings, and to obey our Masters, not as Eye-servants, but in singleness of Heart; and for this we are called Excommunicates. But they say,

we have intruded ourselves into our Benefices and Spiritual Promotions by Simony and Bribery. Those who are guilty of such things we shun as much as is possible; and where we can't avoid it, we bear with it according as Times and Places require — Such Persons, I say, we shun, but we do not less shun others also, who cloaking their Avarice with an honourable name, sell that which they vaunt they give gratis, under the Title of Love; and like the Montanists of old, but after a much more crafty manner, receive Gifts, whilst they pretend to make Oblations. It will possibly be objected, that we are Excommunicated for adhering to our Bishop, whose Crime is likewise that he adheres to the Emperor his Sovereign. Hinc illæ Lachrimæ, and hence spring all our Misfortunes — Whilst we slept, the Enemy sow'd Tares in the Church's Ground; but we wait 'till the Angels, God's Reapers, bind them up in Bundles, in order for Burning. And are we therefore Excommunicated? Who can justly blame a Bishop for taking part with his Lord, to whom he owes Fidelity, as he has promised it with an Oath? That Perjury is a great Sin, nobody doubts — If a Man swears, God commands that he should perform his Vows to the Lord — In the mean while, those that rend the Empire and the Priesthood with new Schisms, and by the virtue of new Traditions, promise to discharge from their Crime, such as are forsworn to their Prince, do not regard what Ezekiel \* said to Zedekiah from the Mouth of the Lord, when that Prince violated the

\* Chap. 17.  
ver. 15.

Oath

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Oath he had sworn to Nebuchadnezzar; Shall he break the Covenant, and be delivered?

Lib. V. in This Jerom explains in the follow-  
Ezek. ing manner: Hence we learn, that

Men are obliged to keep their Word even with their Enemies, nor should they consider to whom, but by whom, they swear. As for the Curse of Excommunication, which Hildebrand, and possibly Urban, Odard and this Pascal have belcht out against us, in vertue of their new Traditions, and without making any Difference, we reject it entirely: We honour and reverence the first Holy Fathers, who following the Guidance of the Holy Spirit, and not their own Motions or Fancies, were not so partial as to censure and condemn some when they misbehaved themselves, and at the same time connived at, and tolerated others who were equally guilty —

Paul the Apostle says, that he withstood Peter the Prince of the Apostles, to his face. Why should not we likewise, without regarding the Pride and Ambition of Rome, blame and censure her Bishops when guilty of known and grievous Misdemeanours? He that refuses to be check'd or reprov'd is a False Bishop — They who imitate Peter in his Rage (against Malchus) let them also imitate him in putting up his Sword. For he that healed the Ear of Malchus, can likewise heal the Ear of an Heretick Emperor. Is there any such, which God forbid, let us mourn by our selves, and mourn over him who is still our Sovereign. But we do not understand this of our Emperor, yet this we affirm, That altho' he



were such an Arch-heretick, Undutiful towards God, an Oppressor of his People, an Encourager of the Idol of Simony, and an Excommunicated Man — Yet we should suffer him to Reign over us, since our Sins have been the Cause that God is pleased to give us such a Prince. But supposing that he were such a one as you say he is, we should not therefore oppose him with any other Weapons but Prayers, which we would pour out at the Throne of Grace. Thus Moses pray'd for Pharaoh, Jeremiah and Paul for Nebuchadnezzar and Nero. You maintain, that he who dies Excommunicated is damn'd. Here we call in the Authority of the Church of Rome it self to our Assistance. For one of your Predecessors, Gregory the First, has declared, that the Bishop of Rome can Absolve those who are unjustly Excommunicated. If therefore the Bishop of Rome can do this, who dares deny that God can Absolve those whom the Bishop of Rome has unjustly Excommunicated? For no Man can be wounded by another, unless he first wounds himself —

Thus the Church of Liege opposed right Reason and strong Arguments against Papal Force; as did the Emperor the Count of Flanders, with a strong Arm<sup>1</sup>, falling upon his Country, and laying it wast, 'till he confest his Fault, and sued for Peace.

But Pascal insatiable in his Hatred, endeavour'd afterwards to compass that by the means

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<sup>1</sup> Sigebert Chronogr. p. 611. Calvis. Chron. p. 747.



of nearest Relations, which he could not bring about by Strangers; a cursed Expedient, which his Predecessor *Urban* the Second had already made use of. <sup>1</sup> He stirred up the Son against his own Father; and never rested till the old Emperor (one of the most Warlike Princes of his Age, who had fought in his time sixty two Battles, and had wrestled twenty six Years against Papal Tyranny, having been Excommunicated even six times) was thrust <sup>2</sup> out of his Throne by his dearest Child, the young *Henry*, whom he himself had appointed to succeed him, with Religious Treachery and masked Violence. He did not long survive his Misfortune, dying in the same Year at *Liege*, where he was interred; but soon after, when the said City was forced to submit to *Henry V.* his Corpse was taken up again (for *Pascal* would not absolve the *Liegeois* from their Excommunication on any other Terms) transported to *Spire*, laid in an unconsecrated Place, where it continued five Years unburied, according to that Papal Rule: *With whom the Church had no Communion during his Life-time, with such a one neither is it lawful to have any Communion after his Death.*

Several Persons of Learning and Virtue justifi'd the said Emperor with their Pen; among the rest, <sup>3</sup> *Sigebert*, a Monk of *Gemblours* in *Walloon-Brabant*, wrote against *Gregory VII.* and

*Pascal*

<sup>1</sup> Onuphr. Præf. Lib. 3. de Rom. Princ. Gessel. II. p. 381. | Morn. Hist. Pap. f. 278. Vigne p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Sigeb. p. 606. Vid. & Catal. Test. Verit. XIII. p. 380. | <sup>3</sup> Sigeb. p. 602. Bellarm. de Script. Eccl. p. 171.

*Pascal II.* but those Writings have been since prohibited by the *Romish Church*, and thereby quite lost in Process of Time; but his Annals, from the Year 381 to the Year 1101, are still being. In this Book, treating of the Proceedings of the Clergy in 1088, who had thrust into the Papal Chair *Odo*, or *Urban II.* in opposition to *Guibert*, otherwise *Clement III.* (who having been chosen by the Intervention of the Emperor, and possess'd of the See for about twenty one years, was for that Reason never acknowledged by his Successors) he says thus: *Hence produced the Scandals in the Church, and Dissentions in the State. Whilst the one is at Variance with the other, whilst the Kingdom and the Priesthood do not agree, whilst the one Excommunicates the other, and thro' Prejudice either for Things or persons, each other's Decrees are mutually denied; whilst the Authority of Bans and Excommunications against each other are abused, more for private Passions than with Views of Justice, the Right of those to whom the Power of Binding and Loosing belongs, will vanish into Air. Certainly (I say it with Submission to all good Men) this Novelty only, I don't call it Heresy, was not yet come into the World, that the Priests of him who had said to the King, Thou Apostate, and who maketh the Hypocrite to reign for the Transgressions of the People, should teach Subjects that they do not owe Allegiance to wicked Princes; and that altho' they had taken an Oath of Fidelity to him, yet were they not bound to keep it; nor were they to be accounted perjur'd*

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who understood such an Oath in a Sense different from that of their Rulers; yea, that they who obeyed the King, were ipso facto Excommunicated; and finally, whoever took up Arms against him, might be Absolved from the Crimes of Perjury and Infidelity.

The same *Sigebert* wrote another Book against those that condemned the Masses of Married Priests: That Book, which is also lost, was chiefly levelled against a certain Decree or Prohibition of Pope *Hildebrand*, concerning which, in his *Chronographia* upon the Year 1076, he says, <sup>1</sup> Pope Gregory shut out of the Church those Priests that had Wives, forbidding the Laity to hear Mass from them; which was a new Example, and an untought-of Prejudice against the Sentiments of the Holy Fathers. He died in the Year 1113.

<sup>2</sup> About the same Time, or a little later, *Tscheliin*, another Priest (tho' he is called a Laick) preached at *Antwerp* and in the adjoining Parts of *Flanders*, but particularly in *Zeland*, against the Corruptions of the *Romish* Church. He taught, that the Episcopal Pomp and Splendor was not so ordained by God; that so many Orders of Churchmen were not necessary; that Masses did not contribute to the Salvation of Men. And his Doctrine prevailed so greatly at *Antwerp*, that in ten Years time there was not

Consecrated

<sup>1</sup> Blondel de Pap. Fœm. N. 3. Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 3.  
p. 3. Buch. ad Hed. p. 33. Hed.  
<sup>2</sup> R. de Monte Append. ad p. 27. Merula. p. 731. Mag.  
Chron. Sigeb. p. 619. Bern. Cent. XII. Col. 847. Vig.  
de Eutsemb. Catal. Hæret. p. p. 278, &c.

Consecrated Host or Wafer to be found. He was also a very Eloquent and Generous Man, which procured him many Followers. His Enemies acknowledge, that the People listened to him as an Angel of GOD; yea, that they drank of the Water in which he bathed his Body. He was always attended with a Guard of Three Thousand armed Men, to defend him from the Insults of the Clergy. He was also accused of Leudness with Women and Maidens: He maintained that Women might be used in common. But others are of Opinion, that these are the Calumnies of the Monks, who hated him. At last he was assassinated by a Priest on Ship-board. But his Doctrines, which *Norbert van Santen* has since propagated, did not die with him, but kept a Footing long after in the Minds of the People.

In the mean time, the voluptuous and lascivious Lives of the Clergy gave great Offence in these Parts also. In the Year 1122, the Canons of *Middelburg* behaved themselves so ill, that *Godebald*, the twenty fourth Bishop of *Utrecht*, was forced to drive them out of their Cloyster, and place other Religious in their stead.

The putting Hereticks to Death, was scarce heard of in the *Netherlands* till the Year 1135, when some Persons were accused of Heresie at *Utrecht*, and burnt alive by Command of the

G 3 Emperor

\* Chron. W. Hedæ. p. 147.

Merula p. 731.

\*\* Usser. de Succes. Eccles.

Occid. Cap. VII. N. 28. ex

Chron. Saxon. Magd. Cent.

XII. p. 848.



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Emperor *Lotharius*. <sup>1</sup> It is supposed, that they had embraced the Doctrine of *Berengarius*, and did not believe that the Body and Blood of CHRIST were really handled, broken and eaten in the Lord's Supper. It was not difficult to extinguish such a small Number by Fire and Sword; but not long after some Thousands had the Courage to declare, that they would have no Fellowship with the Errors of the *Romish Church*.

An Inhabitant of *Lyons*, named *Peter Waldensis*, about the Year 1159, or 1160, began to speak openly against the Papacy: The Success he met with, and the Number of his Followers were so great in a small Space of Time, that the Clergy pronounced him a Heretick, and raised such Persecution against those of his Persuasion, and dispersed them into several Parts of *Europe*, and even filled the *Netherlands*, whither he himself also fled, with Refugees. <sup>2</sup> They were not only styled *Waldenses*, or *Vaudois*, from their Leader, but likewise the *Poor of Lyons*, or *Leonists*, *Albigenses*, *Angennensers*, *Toulousers*, *Bulgarians*, *Picards*, *Weavers*, *Perfectists*, *Humelists*, *Insabratates*, *Cathari*, or *Gazarists*, *Cbienards*, or *Caignards*.

<sup>1</sup> T. Gessel. Hist. II. p. 201, &c. Vign. p. 273, &c. Merula. p. 679. Morn. f. 271. Usser. de Succes. Eccles. Occid. ib. Magd. Cent. XI. Cap. XI. p. 656. & Cap. IX. p. 454.  
<sup>2</sup> J. A. Thuan. Lib. VI. p. 288. Invent. de J. de Serres. p. 124. Magd. Cent. XII. Cap. VIII. p. 1204. Cat. Test. Ver.

XV. p. 533. Vign. p. 273. Morn. f. 341. Usser. de Succes. Eccles. Occid. Cap. VI, &c. Gessel. Hist. Eccles. p. 308. Sleid. XVI. 263. M. Z. Bonhorn. Hist. Univ. p. 707. Ejsd. Nederl. Hist. p. 11. Morul. 761. Scriverij Old. Batav. p. 366.

*Waldenses*, *Frerons*, *Dulans*, *Lollards*, *Turh-  
nies*, *Paterins*, *Pipbles*, *Popelicans*, *Publicans*,  
*Assagins*, *Petrobrusians*, *Henricians*, *Josephines*,  
*Arnaldists*; and afterwards also *Fratres Bohemi*,  
and *Hussites*: All which Appellations were be-  
stowed on them, either from the Country or  
Place where their Opinions prevailed, or from  
some Crimes of which they were accused; or  
lastly, from some body or other that had pro-  
fessed the same Principles either before or after  
*Waldo*. For some think it very certain, that  
*Waldo* himself learned these Doctrines first from  
some of the People inhabiting the Mountainous  
Frontiers of *Franté*; but that he did afterwards  
comprehend more accurately, weigh better, and  
more plainly explained it, and so propagated it  
again among Friends and Strangers: As also,  
that the Errors, Tricks and Subtilties of Popery  
had never yet been able to penetrate into those  
People; forasmuch as they were shut up and  
surrounded in their Valleys, and separated from  
the rest of the World, living mostly by them-  
selves, and so had retained a great deal of their  
plain and simple Purity of the Apostolical Do-  
ctrine.

2 This Antiquity of the Doctrine of the *Wal-  
denses* is acknowledged even by their greatest Ene-  
mies; 3 in whose Writings, among the Slanders  
and Contumelies which are cast upon them, there

C 4 are

<sup>1</sup> Morn. 342.  
<sup>2</sup> Reiner. contr. Hæretic.  
p. IV. p. 54. Ed. Ingolst. An.  
13. Vid. et. Usser. Cap. VIII.  
256. Morn. f. 342.

<sup>3</sup> Reiner. contr. Hæretic.  
Wald. ib. Freher. de Rev.  
Bohem. Script. p. 222. Jac. de  
Rebiris in Collect. de Urbo  
Tholosa.

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are likewise glorious Testimonies of their regular Life, unwearied Diligence in searching out the Truth, and fervent Zeal in promoting the same.

<sup>1</sup> Their Doctrine appears to agree for the most part with the Opinions of those, who since the Time of *Luther* have declared against the Abuses and Errors of the *Romish Church*.  
<sup>2</sup> Some of them did likewise reject Infant Baptism, <sup>3</sup> Oaths, or, as some think, <sup>4</sup> rash Oaths only; and all Violences to Conscience; their Notion being, that *No Man should be compelled by the Sword to Believe, but enticed by the Power of Preaching*. But the People of those Countries to which they fled for Shelter, were of another Mind. The Clergy, who were become blind Leaders of the Blind, were too much in Love with Darkeness to give any Attention to such Lights, which being set up in Candlesticks by others, discovered their Ignorance and scandalous Lives; for which Reason, they sought to hide and extinguish them by Prisons and Persecution. This brought greater Oppressions upon these poor Refugees and Wanderers, which followed them close at their Heels wherever they went for Shelter. Some of 'em, in the Year 1163, retired from *Flanders*, where they had got the Nick-names of <sup>5</sup> *Turlupines* and <sup>6</sup> *Pipblers*.

<sup>1</sup> Poplin. Hist. Franc. Ed. 833, &c. Hof. de Hæresib. f. 1581. f. 7. Uffer. de Succes. Eccl. Occid. p. 374. Serres. Invent. 124. Vid. Artic. Fid. in Magd. Cent. 1206. Uffer. Cap. VI. &c. Cat. Test. Verit. XV. p. 559, &c. <sup>2</sup> Cat. Test. 549. Vign. p. 408. Magd. Cent. XII. Col. <sup>3</sup> 833, &c. Hof. de Hæresib. f. 1581. Cat. Test. 558. Vign. p. 377. <sup>4</sup> Uffer. p. 295. Cat. Test. p. 555. <sup>5</sup> Reiner, ib. Cat. Test. p. 545, &c. Vign. p. 377. <sup>6</sup> Uffer. Cap. VIII. p. 763.

to *Cologn*. Here also they were soon discovered (forasmuch as they never went to Church, not even on *Sundays*) and imprisoned in a Barn, whither *Egbert* the Abbot of *Schbonaue* was sent to 'em, to convince them of their Errors. He disputed indeed with three of them, *Arnoldus*, *Marfilius* and *Theodoricus*; but they persevering in their Opinions<sup>1</sup>, were condemned to Death, and burned. A young Maiden of their Company, whom the People would gladly have spared, in Hopes of bringing her over to the Church, threw herself chearfully into the Fire, and was consum'd with the rest. It should seem, that these *Pipbles* maintained, among other Notions, that we ought chiefly to be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with Fire; for<sup>2</sup> the aforesaid Abbot *Egbert* writ afterwards, that the People of *Cologn* had baptized *Arnoldus* and those of *Bon*, *Theodoricus* and his Companions, with Fire.

About the Year 1183, the Persecution was much heavier; especially in *Flanders*,<sup>3</sup> where Count *Philip* of *Alfatia*, at the Instigation of *William* Archbishop of *Reims*, Cardinal and Legate of the Pope, most cruelly condemned great Numbers of the *Waldenses* to be burnt alive. The bloody Crusade and War which Pope *Innocent III.* stirred up against them in *France*, about the Year 1219, and which was renewed more than

<sup>1</sup> Vign. p. 380, ex Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. Magd. Cent. XII. Cap. V. Col. 852. Usser. lib. Cap. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Serm. VIII. adv. Catharos. Tom. II. Bibliot. Patr. ed. Paris. An. 1610.

<sup>3</sup> N. Vign. ex Vinc. de Beauvais. Annal. de France, L. XIX. C. XXVI. Merul. p. 774. Boxh. Hist. Univ. p. 718. Magd. Cent. XII. C. DCCCLIII.

<sup>4</sup> Vign. p. 412. Morn. f. 365. & Usser. C. IX, &c.



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than once, drove again very many of those that had fled from the *Low-Countries*, back to *Flanders*.

<sup>1</sup> Before that time the Pope had appointed two Commissioners to enquire into their Faith, with Orders to excommunicate them, in case they refused to be converted, and, if they found it necessary, to compel them with the Sword of the Magistrate. From hence arose the *Office of the Inquisition*, as they call it<sup>2</sup>, which was first entrusted to the *Spaniard Dominicus*, and after him to the Monks of his Order, and<sup>3</sup> afterwards jointly with them to the *Franciscans*, (for both these Orders were founded about this Time;) <sup>4</sup> till at last the *Dominicans* (who upon account of their preaching against the *Waldenses*, had likewise acquired the Name of *Preaching Fryers*) by their diligent ferreting out of their Lurking-places, and zealously persecuting the Hereticks, as they called them, got the whole Management of the Inquisition into their own Hands. <sup>5</sup> These Inquisitors put the suspected Persons upon their Oaths, then proposed several ensnaring Questions to them, whereby they easily drew in the simple, well-Meaning People to accuse themselves. Thus were introduced Capital Punishments for Heresie.

But this putting of Hereticks to Death, has since proved the greatest of all Heresies,

<sup>1</sup> Usser. ib. Cap. IX. n. 6, &c. *the Franciscans*, 408, &c. P.  
<sup>2</sup> Usser. ib. Vid. et. Marian. Servit. ib. Morn. f. 358, &c.  
 Hist. Hisp. L. XII. Cap. VIII. De Dom. ib. L. IX. Cap. VI.  
 Vign. 405. Boxh. p. 773. &c. Magd. Gent. XIII. Col.  
 Morn. f. 359. P. Servit. in 1151.  
 Hist. Inquisit. 20. M. A. de <sup>4</sup> Grot. Annal. Lib. I. c. X.  
 Dom. de Rep. Eccl. Hooft. Lib. XXX.  
<sup>3</sup> Usser. ib. See Vign. about <sup>5</sup> Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 14.

by extinguishing and murdering *Charity*, the very Soul of Christianity. Now though some of those *Waldenses*, and a very few of them too, fainted under their Cross; yet the most part continued stedfast, receiving and meeting Death as a Favour. They who denied what they were charg'd with, were put upon the *Ordeal*, a Trial, which being borrow'd from Paganism, and being a very unjust one, was also very improperly made use of to discover the Truth; besides, the Innocent were as little capable of undergoing it as the Guilty. The manner was thus; The Person suspected of Heresie was obliged to take into his naked Hand a glowing Iron, after some previous Exorcisms, and carry it along nine Paces; after which the Hand was bound up and seal'd, and then view'd at the end of three Days: If it appear'd singed or sore, that was taken for a sign of Guilt, and whereupon Sentence of Death was pronounced against the Party. This Trial they call'd *Ordeal* or *Ordeal*. Sometimes they made the accused persons thrust their Arms quite up to the Elbow in a Kettle of scalding Water: Which Method is denoted in the old *Netherlandish*, and especially in the *Frisian* Laws, by the word *Ketel-vang*. They also cast some stark-naked into a deep cold Water (which was before-hand adjured not to receive the Guilty, but to let them float: Wherefore if they sunk, it was a Token of their Innocency. 3 *Conrad* of *Marpurg*, a Dominican Monk,

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 23, &c.

Vign.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. ib. &c. Morn. f. 367. Continuation of Merula, p. 801.

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Monk, who was appointed by the Pope in the Year 1214, Inquisitor General of the Faith over the Countries of *Germany*, made use most commonly of the Trial by a glowing Iron, by which means he sentenced an incredible number of persons to Death. It often happen'd through a hasty Process, that a person innocent or guilty was accused, try'd and convicted (without giving him any Time or necessary Helps to make his Defence) and the same Day cast into the Fire.

<sup>1</sup> The *Waldenses* were persecuted yet more cruelly in *Flanders*, in the Years Twelve Hundred Thirty Six, Seven and Eight, by the Monk *Robert*, <sup>2</sup> who was surnamed *Bugre* or *Bulgarus*, for as much as he himself was one of the said *Waldenses* before he assumed the *Dominican* Hood. This Man knowing by that means who they were, and where they conceal'd themselves, had better Opportunities of raging against his Old Friends, after that Pope *Gregory* the Nineteenth had made him Inquisitor General. All such as refused to be converted according to his Fancy, being supported by the Secular Army, he caused to be burnt; insomuch that within the Space of two or three Months he had burnt or buried alive about Fifty Men and Women. But he did not stop there; for he stretch'd the Powers that were given him to such a Degree, that at last the Pope himself was dissatisfied at his Conduct, and suspended him from his Office, and, upon Information of some of his Misdemeanors,

<sup>1</sup> Usser. Cap. X. N. 62. ex 1238. Vign. p. 50. <sup>2</sup> Mat. Paris. Hist. An. 1236 & Usser. ib. & Vign. p. 408.

meanors, condemned him to a perpetual Imprisonment.

Besides the cruel Death by Fire, the Rage of their Persecutors had invented another Kind of Punishment, which was much more painful on account of its Duration, and which was put in Practice against the poor *Waldenses* in *Flanders*:

They stript them of their Cloaths down to their Navels, and likewise of their Skins to the same Place, and then tied them to Stakes in Places where there were Nests of Hornets or Wasps, and Hives of Bees, which thrusting their Stings into the fresh Wounds, tormented them most grievously Day and Night, till at last they expired with Anguish and Pain.

Notwithstanding this the more they were persecuted the more they increased both in Numbers and Knowledge. They turned the Holy Scriptures, which the Clergy had taken from the People, and which *Waldo* had before translated into *French*, into *Low-Dutch* Rhimes, according to the Custom of those Ages, and in imitation of those of the old *Teutons*, who were used to record their most memorable Affairs in Verse. <sup>3</sup> *Buxhorn* says, that Copies of such Bibles are to be seen even now in some Libraries. The Reasons for their so doing, we shall give you in their own Words; *Dat daer in was groote Nutschap; no Boerte, no Fabulen, no Truffe, no Faloerde; mer were Woerden. Dat hier en daer wel was een berde Coerste, mer dat het Pit ende die*

<sup>2</sup> Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 95.

Vign. p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Thuan. p. 288. Wern. Ro-

<sup>3</sup> In his History of the Netherlands, p. 35.



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*die Soetheit van Geet en Selicheit der in wel-*  
*was te bekinnen :* Which may be thus English'd,  
*That there was great Advantage in it ; no Fests,*  
*no Fables, no Trifles, no Deceits, but the Words*  
*of Truth. That indeed there was here and there*  
*a hard Crust, but that the Marrow and Sweet-*  
*ness of what was Good and Holy might be easily*  
*discovered in it.*

In the mean while the Pride and Ambition  
of the Clergy increased, and the Grandeur of  
the Ecclesiasticks beyond all measure abounded.  
The Bishops of *Utrecht* behaved as Half-Popes  
in their Diocese. <sup>1</sup> They gave Place neither to  
Kings nor Emperors in the State and Magnifi-  
cence of their Courts ; they reckon'd the great-  
est Princes in the *Low-Countries* among their  
Feudatories, because they held some Lands of  
the Bishoprick in Fee, and that they owed them  
Homage. Accordingly *Baldwin*, the Second of  
that Name, and Twenty-ninth Bishop of the  
See, summon'd several Princes to *Utrecht*, to  
receive the Investiture of the Lands that were  
so holden by them : The Duke of *Brahant* as  
first Steward ; the Count of *Flanders* as Second ;  
the Count of *Holland* as Marshal ; the Count  
of *Gelderland* as Chief Huntsman or Ranger ;  
the Count of *Cleves* as Great Chamberlain ; the  
Count of *Bentham* as Chief Usher ; the Count  
of *Kuik* as Butler ; and the Count of *Goer* as  
Master-Porter. They all came except the Duke  
of *Brahant*, <sup>2</sup> who refused to do Homage to the

Bishop

<sup>1</sup> Vignier's *History of the Ne-* | *of Holl. Divis. VII. C. XIV.*  
*therlands*, p. 103, &c. Chron. | *Hedæ*, p. 112.  
<sup>2</sup> *Beka*, p. 56.

bishop for the Fief of the *Veluwe*, from whence  
 rose scandalous Disputes, and Land-consuming  
 Wars.

Such preposterous Fruits did there result from  
 the unreasonable Generosity of former Christian  
 Kings, and from their making the Clergy too  
 powerful. And the greater the Popes and Bi-  
 shops grew, the less submissive were the rest of  
 the Ecclesiasticks to Temporal Governours. <sup>1</sup> They  
 refused to appear before the common Courts of  
 Justice, yea they took by force other Criminals  
 out of the Hands of the Civil Magistrate, <sup>2</sup> set-  
 ting open for them their Cloisters, Churches and  
 Houses; and if any body attempted to fetch  
 them out, that was called Sacrilege. Whereas  
 two or three Witnesses were sufficient to convict  
 a Layman of his Crime, they framed a Law,  
 and forced it upon the Government, to the fol-  
 lowing Purpose; <sup>3</sup> *That no Charge or Accu-  
 sation should be received against a Cardinal Bishop,  
 unless supported by seventy two Witnesses, nor  
 against a Cardinal Priest, but by four and forty,  
 a Cardinal Deacon, but seven and twenty; nor  
 against any of the very lowest among the Cler-  
 gy, but by seven Witnesses.* By this means  
 they were in hopes to stop the Mouths of all  
 that had any thing to say against them. More-  
 over, in those Times of Ignorance there were so  
 few to be found that could use the Pen either in  
 the Courts of Princes, or in the Governments of  
 Cities and Towns, that they found themselves  
 obliged

Boxh. ib. p. 112, &c.

Templis, Lib. I. Cap. XIII.

Boxh. ib. vid. Hospin. de

Boxh. ib. p. 115.

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obliged to choofe Secretaries and Registers from among the Ecclesiasticks ; from whence it is even to this Day, the Writers in the Secretarie Offices, Courts of Justice, &c. are stiled *Clerks*. By this means the Clergy insinuated themselves yet deeper into the Management of Temporal Matters ; in the Direction of which, the better to fortifie themselves and to blind others, they made use of their Monkish or Cloister-Latin writing in that Language all Letters of Importance, and all publick Acts, Decrees, Sentences and the like. <sup>1</sup> Sometimes they got the Civil Magistrates to sign and seal Instruments that were nearly related to themselves, and which tended to the Advantage of the Church, and these were trumped up after the Death of those that signed them. Neither was their Avarice less than their Ambition : The Bishops not content with the Tythes and other old Revenues, laid new Burdens upon Trade and Land. In some places they obliged the Husbandman to pay them yearly two Pecks of Wheat and half a Peck of Oats for every Plough. <sup>2</sup> They who had no Lands were forced to give them a *Menkalde* (a certain Measure used in those Times, and from which the Dutch *Mengel* or Pint seems to be derived) of Corn, by way of Fine or Ransom. Thus they almost exhaust the Laity by all kinds of Devices to gratifie their insatiable Desires ; chiefly by establishing new Orders of Monks and Friars, by multiplying the Clergy, by a large

<sup>1</sup> Boxh. ib. p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Boxh. ib. p. 220.

rging the Old, and by building new Monasteries. In the space of one Century, that is, between the Years *Eleven* and *Twelve Hundred*, there were founded in the *Netherlands* only, sixty-one Abbeys richly endow'd with Lands and other Revenues. Whole Towns and Villages have sprung up from such Monasteries and their accessions; of which the Names of *Monnik-dam*, *Monnik-landt*, *Paepen-recht*, *Paepe-koop*, *Abbe-kerk*, *Munster* and *Ingel-munster*, are sufficient Testimonies. What the Clergy got, not only the Common People, but also the Lords and Princes lost; for the Ecclesiastical Estates paid neither Scot nor Lot. This was very prejudicial to the Publick. Now if any body took notice of the evil Tendency thereof, and presumed to oppose the Clergy and their Doings in any manner, they fulminated against them with the most dreadful Execrations that ever were heard of in Christendom. These Churchmen would be accounted Disciples of the most humble and meekest Teacher of Long-suffering and Forbearance that the World ever knew, of him I say, who required his Followers to love their Enemies, and to bless those that persecuted them; and yet were they capable of denouncing such a Curse as this:

² By Command of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, of the blessed Mary, Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, of St. Michael, John the Baptist,

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² Boxh. ib. p. 111, &c.

² Boxh. ib. p. 111, 112, &c.



Baptist, and of Peter and Paul, Princes of the Apostles, of St. Stephen and all the Martyrs, of St. Sylvester and all the Confessors, of St. Aldegund and all the Holy Virgins, and of all other Saints whatsoever, both in Heaven and Earth: We Curse and Cut off from the Holy Mother the Church, him, her or them, that have [done so and so,] or have known thereof, or have been advising, abetting or assisting therein. Let them be accursed in their Houses, Granaries, Beds, Fields, Lands, Wap, Country-Seats, Towns and Villages. Let them be accursed in the Woods, Rivers and Churches: Accursed in Pleadings, Cryalls, Contentions and Quarrels: Accursed in Praying, Speaking, and in Silence; in Eating, Drinking and Sleeping; in Making, Feeling, Walking, Standing, Running, Resting and Riding: Accursed in Hearing, Seeing and Casting; accursed in all their Works. Let this Curse smite their Heads, Eyes and their whole Bodies, from the Crown of their Head to the Sole of the Feet. I conjure thee Satan and all thy Black-Guard, by the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, that ye do not rest Day or Night, till ye have brought them both to temporal and eternal Shame, whether it be by causing them to be drowned, or hanged, or devoured by wild Beasts, or torn in pieces by Vultures or Eagles, or burnt with Fire, or murdered by their Enemies: Make them odious to all Creatures living: Let their Children be Orphans, and their Wives Widows. Let no Man relieve them from this time forward

ward, nor have any Compassion for their fatherless Children: And just as Lucifer was driven out of Heaven, and Adam banish'd out of Paradise, let them also be driven and banish'd out of this world, being despoil'd of all their Goods and Possessions, and let them be buried with the Burial of an Ass: Let them partake of the Punishment of Corah, Dathan and Abiram, of Judas, of Pontius Pilate, and of all that say to the Lord their God, Depart from us, we will have no Knowledge of thy ways. [At these Words the Person who pronounced the Curses extinguish'd two burning Tapers, which he held in his Hands, with the following dreadful Expressions;] I adjure thee, Satan, and all thy Companions, that just as these Candles are extinguished in my Hands, thou dost likewise extinguish and take from them the Light of their Eyes, unless they Repent, and make entire Amends and Satisfaction. Amen, so let it be, Amen.

THE Terrors which the Priestly Office and Power, and the Consequences of such a Curse, produced in the Minds of the simple People, cannot be express'd: However, all the Clergy were not of such a Spirit; some of them saw a great deal more than pleased them, but they durst not find fault, and some few had the Courage to speak at times.

About the Year 1290. flourish'd Henry of Gant, Archdeacon of Tournay, a very learned Man,

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Man,

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Man, infomuch that he was usually stiled : *the Famous Teacher*. This Person whetted his Pen against the Abuses of Ecclesiastical Goods and the Papal Power. <sup>2</sup> He maintained, *That a Prelate was a Servant and Subject of the Law, but no Lord. And that Evil was not Good, because the Pope did either command or permit it.*

In some places also the Temporal Powers began to look about them. In the Year 1294, Count Guy, or Guido, of Flanders, <sup>3</sup> publish'd an Edict, whereby the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, were forbid to purchase Lands and Estates in the Country of Flanders; making strict Enquiry, and inflicting severe Penalties upon the Transgressors. And in the Year 1328, William Count of Holland publish'd one, of the following Tenor : <sup>4</sup> *We William Count, &c. Do hereby declare, that great Complaints have been made to us, that the Monks and other Ecclesiasticks within our Country, and some also out of it, have purchased Offices, Titles and Lands; and what they have so bought, they hold to be exempt and free from all Temporal Jurisdiction; whereby the Rights of our Sovereignty and Lordship will be prejudiced, which it does not become Us to endure. Wherefore We charge and exhort all Our good People of Holland, Zeland and Friesland, both Gentle and Simple, that they never sell any Lands or Estates to the Clergy of this*

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<sup>2</sup> Doctor Solennis Gesn. Bibl. f. 310. Cat. Test. Verit. XVI. p. 643.

<sup>3</sup> In suo quodlibeto secundo. Cat. Test. ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Plakaet-boek van Flandre p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Vid Regist. in the Leen kamer of Holland in the Hague Markt A. I. 2. fol. LX.

Country, on pain of forfeiting the said Estates, and of paying Ten Pounds as a Penalty for every such Misdemeanor. We do moreover require all Governours, Judges and Magistrates within Our Dominions, each of them upon the like Penalty of Ten Pounds, that they do not allow that any Gift, Property or Inheritance in their respective Jurisdictions, be transferr'd or made over to them the said Clergy. And to the end that this our Edict may be Firm and Good, We have seal'd and deliver'd it at St. Gheerdeberg this present Sunday, before St. Dona's Day, in the Year MCCCXXVIII.

A few Years before was the Order of the Knights Templers totally extirpated out of all Countries where the Papacy prevailed; as also in Holland and Zeland. 'Twas done at Ziericksee, after the following manner: There was a sealed Letter to all the Magistrates, and under the Superscription an Order, that it should not be open'd 'till upon a certain Night, therein mention'd, at Twelve a Clock, and in full Council to be expressly assembled for the same purpose: And the Contents thereof were to be put in execution at the same Instant, on pain of Death. The Council being accordingly met, and the Letter open'd, it appear'd, that they were directed immediately to fall upon the said Templers with Sword in hand, and to put them all to Death. This bloody Order sounded dreadful in their Ears; but what could they do? the Fear for their own Lives prevailed over all moderate and merciful Advice: They therefore called to-



gether with the utmost Secrecy, all those who had any Dependance on them, and armed them, and so marched them to the House or Monastery of the Templers. The Doors being open'd, they were all massacred in their Beds, and wherever they had hid themselves, excepting two that were in a Bawdy-house. In like manner were they rooted out of every other Town, and mostly at the very same time. Thus ended the Order of Knights Templers, after it had lasted about two hundred Years.

The Occasion of this bloody Execution is variously related: Some affirm, that they were accused and convicted of Heresie, Idolatry, Renunciation of the Faith, private Correspondence with the Infidels, of Sodomy, and other horrible Crimes: That *Clement V.* had also grounded the Sentence of Death declared in the Council of *Vienna* against them about the same time upon the like Accusations. Others again acquit them of these Crimes, maintaining, that this Misfortune was brought upon them by a Plot framed and hatcht by the Pope and *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, out of Envy and Thirst after their great Possessions. <sup>2</sup> Some have written, that the Templers brought it upon themselves, by their open inveighing against the Corruptions and Abuses of the Papacy.

<sup>1</sup> Vign. 525. &c. Morn. cic. Temp. f. 83. T. Wal-  
446 &c. W. Hed. 231. Buch. singham in Hypodigm. Neu-  
Not. ad Hed. 236. Pont. Rev. striæ, ad An. 1308, p. 500. &  
Dan. 406. Carion Lib. IV. in Hist. Angl. p. 99. Lursenb.  
450. V. 564. P. Æmil. Hist. Cat. Hæret. ad lit. T. Mari-  
VIII. 256, &c. Mutii Chr. an, Hist. Lib. XV. p. 651, &c.  
Germ. p. 211. Langii Chron. Vignier. p. 525.  
Citizens, 826. Rolwink. Raf-

In the same Synod in which these Templers had been condemn'd, *Guido* of *Hainault*, the formerly second Bishop of *Utrecht* was chosen Cardinal by the Pope; but he refused to put on the Red Hat and Scarlet Mantle, which all other of the Clergy in general, so earnestly long'd for. This was consider'd as a rare Example of Moderation in those ambitious Times. The following Bishops, his Successors, look'd upon such things with very different Eyes. Most of them chose to get them a Name by enlarging their Borders by their Arms and other unlawful Methods. They who were called Hereticks could not even by Death escape their Hands and their Hatred. *Floris* of *Wevelikboven*, the fiftieth Bishop of *Utrecht*, in the Year 1380, caused the Body of one *Mattheus*, a *Lollard*, to be taken out of his Grave, and burnt before the Episcopal Palace, and his Ashes to be strow'd in the Town-ditch. 3 This Man is thought to have been one of the *Waldenses*, who were likewise nick-named *Lollards*.

4 Thus also some Years before was one *William Cornelison*, a Priest of *Antwerp*, taken out of his Grave, and burnt by a certain Bishop of *Cambray*. We don't find any Mention made of the Kind of Herefie laid to the Charge of such Dead Persons. At *Zieriksee* some of the Monks were punished for their own unbounded Extravagancies: One

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\* J. Beka, p. 107. W. Heda,

p. 231. Buch. ad Hed. p. 237,

&c.

\* W. Heda, p. 259. and Buch.

ad Hed. p. 263, &c.

\* Vign. p. 377, 528, 562.

\* J. Fox Epistograph. ad

Oxonienf. ejusd. Comment.

Ecclesi. adjunct. f. 210.

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of them stabbed his Companion; whereupon the Magistrate drove them all out of their Cloyster and put in others in their stead; and these grew so profuse, as to squander away almost all the Revenue of the Monastery. Wherefore, after the Expiration of some Years, it was resolved to restore as many as they could find of those that had been expelled before. This being understood by those that were in Possession, upon a certain Night they pack'd up Bed and Bedding, Books, Vessels, all the Church-Furniture that remained, and, in short, every thing they could carry away, and so made off with the utmost Secresy. This Ecclesiastical Bankrupcy is to be found in a Publick Register of a Town, recorded at that Time in the following Words: *Anno Millesimo Trecentesimo Octuagesimo Tertio, Ob-servantiales spoliaverunt Conventum Sirikzeënsium de Mobilibus & Immobilibus.*

The Scandalousness of such a Life discovered it self. <sup>2</sup> But as to the Business of Doctrine, People began to see a little clearer into the Corruptions thereof, by the Preaching of *John Wicklif*, Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*, who had opposed the Incroachments of Popery in *England*, after the Manner of the *Waldenses*, for the Space of Sixteen Years (some say, Seven and twenty Years) together; and after having wrestled a-

<sup>1</sup> Boxhorn. Ned. Hist. p. 128. Epist. Lib. XVIII. p. 787.  
<sup>2</sup> Vign p. 556, &c. Morn. Walsingh. Hist. Angl. p. 191.  
 f. 500, &c. Cat. Test. Verir. 312. Ib. in Hypodigm. Neu-  
 L. XVIII. p. 810. Foxi Com- striaz, p. 531. & Flor. Remond.  
 ment. Eccles. Lib. I. Boxh. al. Lod Richeomus Jes. in  
 Hist Univ. p. 884. *Contingit* his Rise of Heresie, p. 1. Lib. IV.  
 tion of Merula, p. 859. Erasim. Cap. 41.

gainst many Snares, ill Treatment and Banishment, died peaceably at his Parish of *Lutterworth*, the last Day of the Year 1378. <sup>1</sup> The great Trade which the People of the *Low-Countries* maintained with *England*, contributed very much to the propagating his Opinions, and bringing them over hither.

<sup>2</sup> Duke *Albrecht* of *Bavaria*, the Twenty third Count of *Holland*, in Right of his Mother (who was Daughter of Count *William the Good*) wrote to the Magistrates of *Delf*, in the Year 1398, that he was inform'd, that some Fellows ran daily about the Streets of that City, *who*, says he, *lived unmannerly, and raised much Talk and Trouble, presuming to act like Clergy-men, and using the Rights and Privileges of Clergy-men, tho' they were without Tonsure, or Ecclesiastical Habits, neither lead the Lives of Clergy-men, which ought by no means to be endured.* Wherefore he ordered, that *as often as any thing of that Nature happened, they should be apprehended, and treated as they deserv'd.* From this Letter, dated *Friday* after *St. Pontian's* Day, it may be inferred, that the Writer of it did not value the Hatred of the Pope, but endeavoured to reform the Abuses crept into the Church. And indeed he was Son to that brave Emperor *Lodowick IV.* who, without caring either for Pope or Papacy, or the Thunders of the Vatican, defended

<sup>1</sup> Boxhorn. Ned. Hist. p. 129. Boxh. Hist. Univ. p. 826, &c.  
<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 133. J. Van Heemskirk Bat. Arcad.  
<sup>3</sup> Cat. Test. Ver. XVIII. p. 326, &c. Scriver. Old. Bat.  
 716, &c. Morn. f. 457, &c. tav. p. 334, &c.  
 Carion. p. 589. Vign. p. 533.



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defended not only with his Sword, but with several strong Declarations the Right of his Election to the Imperial Crown, which Pope *John XXII.* the Son of a Cobler, pretended to be invalid, unless it were strengthened by his Confirmation. Upon the same account some of the most Ingenious and Learned Men of that Age lent the Emperor their Pens ; such as <sup>1</sup> *William Ockham*, <sup>2</sup> *Marsilius* of Padua, <sup>3</sup> *John* of Gauduno, <sup>4</sup> *Henry* of Chalem, <sup>5</sup> *Bonagratia* of Peramo, <sup>6</sup> *Michael* Cecenas, <sup>7</sup> *Dantes* Aligerius, <sup>8</sup> *Petrus* Cumerius, <sup>9</sup> *Franciscus* Petrarcha, <sup>10</sup> *Lupoldus* of Rebenburg, <sup>11</sup> *Andreas* Laudensis, <sup>12</sup> *Ulricus* Hangeror, and <sup>13</sup> others, who employ'd a great part of their time in defending his Cause.

In such Disputes of Arguments and Arms he possess'd the Empire near three and thirty Years ; <sup>14</sup> whereas his Predecessor *Henry VII.* (a Count of *Luxemburg*, descended also on his Mother's side from the Counts of *Holland*) did not reign

<sup>1</sup> Scriv. ib. p. 355. Cat. Test. XVIII. 725.

<sup>2</sup> Scriv. ib. p. 358. Morn. f. 468, &c. Cat. Test. p. 768. Vign. p. 531, &c. Boxh. Hist. Univ. p. 848, & p. 854.

<sup>3</sup> Scriv. ib. p. 361. M. A. de Dom. Rep. Eccl. L. I. C. X. & L. VIII. C. VII. n. 7. Morn. f. 468. Cat. Test. p. 767.

<sup>4</sup> Scriv. ib. p. 362, &c. de Dom. ib. Morn. 470.

<sup>5</sup> Scriv. ib. 363.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. 364.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. Morn. 470.

<sup>8</sup> Scriv. ib. 367. Morn. f. 451. Cat. Test. 770.

<sup>9</sup> Scriv. ib. 368.

<sup>10</sup> Ib. 369. Morn. 473, &c. Vign. 541, &c. Cat. Test. 721, 774. Contin. of Merula, 872, 901. Apol. pour Herodote. C. XXXIX. p. 465. Thuan. Lib. I. p. 74.

<sup>11</sup> Scriv. ib. p. 370. Morn. f. 470. Vign. p. 543.

<sup>12</sup> Scriv. ib. 345, &c. Morn. 467, 482. Vign. p. 533.

<sup>13</sup> Ib. p. 534.

<sup>14</sup> Vid. Petrarch. Opera p. 589. & Scriv. p. 328.

all five Years, <sup>1</sup> having been poison'd by a Dominican Monk with a consecrated Wafer or Wine. So dear did it cost this brave Prince, as some think, to have opposed Papal Ambition.

About the Year 1409, the Inhabitants of *Hoorn* were grievously tormented by the Dean of *West-Friesland*. When he could extort nothing from them under colour of Law, he seiz'd their Kine and other Beasts in the Field, and rais'd their Rents; whereupon the Burghers carried their Complaints to *William VI.* then Count of *Holland* <sup>2</sup> who writ to the said Dean in very strong Terms, requiring him to let the Men live peaceably for the future. <sup>3</sup> The said Count sent also Letters to the Town of *Delf* in the same Year, upon a Remonstrance made by the People against the Avarice of the Secular and Regular Clergy; whereby it was ordered, That all such as betook themselves to Cloisters for the time to come, should only enjoy as long as they lived the income of their Estates; and that the Cloister in which they died should not be capable of inheriting more than one Third of their Means. <sup>4</sup> He also forbad the Clergy of the City of *Amsterdam* to purchase any Estate moveable or immoveable within the Jurisdiction of the said City, or to receive

* Rolewink. Fascic. Temp.	Morn. f. 445. Cat. Test. XVIII.
83. Langii Chron. Cit. p. 826.	p. 715, &c.
Mutii Chr. Germ. Lib. XXIII.	<sup>2</sup> D. Vellii Chr. van Hoorn.
p. 219. Compil. Chron. ad	p. 17. Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 142.
An. 1313. p. 746. Hed. Hist.	<sup>3</sup> Boxh. ib. 143.
p. 231. Ibid. ad Bek. p. 110.	<sup>4</sup> Pont. Hist. Amstel. Lib. I.
Munsteri Cosmog. Lib. III.	Cap. VII. p. 19. Privileg. of
p. 370. Carion. L. V. p. 569	Amsterd. p. 19.
Scriv. Old Batav. p. 328, &c.	

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receive any by way of Inheritance ; which Prohibition however, was not to extend to Parishes or Hospitals within the Walls of the Town.

This tended a little to clip the Wings of Papal Power ; but in a few Years after, there happen'd something which was attended with much greater Consequences. <sup>1</sup> The *Hussites* in *Bohemia*, so named from *John Huss* (one of their principal Teachers, and who was burnt at Constance in the Year 1415, tho' he came to the Synod held there, with the Passport of the Emperor *Sigismund*, whose Word and Troth was violated by the said Synod, <sup>2</sup> by which that famous Declaration was made ; *That the Church was not bound to keep her Promises to Hereticks.* These *Hussites*, I say, did openly oppose the Papacy, and <sup>3</sup> set on foot a Reformation, according to the Principles of the *Waldenses* and *Wicklif*, who, during his Banishment, had spent some time in *Bohemia* : <sup>4</sup> But others are of Opinion, that some of the said *Wicklif's* Books were brought thither from *England* by a *Bohemian* Student ; <sup>5</sup> as also that *Huss* himself about the Year 1400, had preach'd against the *Indulgences*. <sup>6</sup> With him was likewise apprehended *Jerom* of *Prague*, his Comrade and Fellow-Minister, and both of them were afterwards condemned to the Fire. Upon the News of their Death, the *Bohemians* rose and quenched their Revenge upon the Churches, Monasteries, Images

<sup>1</sup> Vign. p. 571, &c. Morn. f. 553, &c. Sleid. III. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Morn. ib. Vign. p. 577.

<sup>3</sup> Morn. 501.

<sup>4</sup> Vign. p. 570.

<sup>5</sup> Vign. p. 571.

<sup>6</sup> Morn. f. 554. Vign. p. 578. Beza in Icon. p. A. 1111.

and Pictures of the Saints; <sup>1</sup> and with Arms in  
 their Hands they maintain'd the Doctrines of  
 their martyr'd Teacher. <sup>2</sup> The next Year they  
 petition'd their King *Wenceslaus*, for, and ob-  
 tain'd of him Churches and Liberty of Consci-  
 ence. <sup>3</sup> But being assembled to the number of  
 forty Thousand near a certain Castle, in order to  
 celebrate the Lord's Supper under both the kinds  
 of Bread and Wine; and upon their being for-  
 bidden the Exercise of their Religion in the City of  
*Prague*, there happen'd a great Insurrection, in  
 which the Burgomasters were slain, and the King  
 himself got such a Distemper in his Neck or  
 Throat, out of Wrath and Vexation, as was the  
 Cause of his Death. Thereupon the Succession  
 of the Crown coming to his Brother *Sigismund*,  
 he practis'd such unseasonable Severities, that  
 they enter'd into a Combination to withstand  
 him; whereupon both Sides prepared for War.  
 The Pope thunder'd his Excommunications a-  
 gainst his Enemies. The Clergy preach'd up a  
*Crusado* against them. <sup>5</sup> Princes, Prelates, Knights,  
 Squires and Burghers were invited into it, Horse  
 and Foot, from as far as *Liege*, *Hainault*, *Hol-*  
*land* and *Zeland*. Great Numbers were drawn  
 in by their Zeal for the Church, and march'd  
 into the Field as to an Holy War, among whom  
 were many *Hollanders*. <sup>6</sup> *Dort* alone sent out  
 six and fifty of her Towns-men to share in the  
 Glory

<sup>1</sup> Vign. p. 579.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 580. Morn. f. 558.

<sup>3</sup> Vign. p. 581.

<sup>4</sup> Bucholceri Ind. Chronol.

<sup>5</sup> 379. &c. Vign. p. 582.

<sup>5</sup> Morn. f. 558.

<sup>6</sup> Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 155.

*Beverwiik's History of Dort*, p.

313.



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Glory of it ; but they got but little ; for the *Hussites* under the Command of their General *John Ziska* always baffled them ; and our *Dutchmen* having by this means had an Occasion to inform themselves of the Doctrine and Manners of the said *Hussites*, return'd Home with an Aversion to the Church for which they had fought.

Thus this *Crusado* tended to spread, instead of stifling the Principles of *John Hufs* : And the *Waldenses* began to lift up their Heads again.  
 2 At *Douay* in *Flanders*, about the Year 1421 there was a great Meeting of these People discovered, disturb'd, and many of them imprison'd. They who continued steadfast, which was a considerable Number, were sentenced to be burnt. The rest escaped Martyrdom by renouncing their Faith, and re-uniting themselves to Popery.

In *Overissel* about the same time, or a little earlier, there was a certain preaching Monk named *Matthias Grabo*, who had writ a Book against the irregular Lives of the Clergy, which being apprehended and examined, he did not only confess, but declared besides, that he intended to go on with the same. Upon this Confession he was pronounced a Heretick in the Ecclesiastical Court of *Utrecht* ; but he appeal'd to the Pope : Whereupon *Frederick van Blankenbeim*, the One and Fiftieth Bishop of *Utrecht*, brought the Matter before the Council at *Constance*. Here he caused the said Monk to be prosecuted by two Priors and two Canons, and try'd

\* Boxh. ib.

2 Vign. p. 583. ex Enguer. de Monstralet.

for his Life. The Cause was heard, the Book  
 read, and the Writer cast into a Dungeon ; where  
 the Threats of Fire made so strong an Impres-  
 sion on him, that the poor Man acknowledged  
 himself guilty, and retracted his Writings. In  
 the mean time the Contents of his Book pre-  
 vail'd so mightily, that the Magistrates of seve-  
 ral Towns in the aforesaid Province, and parti-  
 cularly at *Deventer*, openly asserted, *That the*  
*Clergy were likewise subject to the Civil Powers.*  
 On the other hand, the Ecclesiasticks maintain'd  
 the contrary with so much Violence, that Bishop  
*Frederic*, who died in the Year 1423, declared  
 in his Death-bed ; *That among the Clergy every*  
*body endeavoured to be uppermost ; That none*  
*should be in subjection to another ; and that from*  
*hence terrible Confusions should arise.*

After *Frederic's* Death there presently hap-  
 pen'd a grievous Schism upon the Election of  
*Rudolf van Diephout* for Bishop of *Utrecht*.  
 Pope *Martin V.* refused to Confirm him, and  
 gave the Mitre to the Bishop of *Spire*, who  
 by the Consent of the said Pope transferr'd the  
 same to *Zueder van Kuilenburg*. *Rudolf* took  
 possession of *Utrecht* by force ; thus both Spiri-  
 tual Weapons were used in this Dispute. The  
 Pope Excommunicated *Rudolf* and his Followers,  
 prohibiting the Clergy the Exercise of Divine  
 service wherever they disown'd the Authority of  
*Zueder*. On the contrary the Magistrates of se-  
 veral

<sup>1</sup> Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Hed. Hist. p. 284. Ap-

pend. ad Chron. Bek. p. 132,

152, &c. Men. Picolom. de

Stat. Europ. sub. Fred. III.

Cap. XXVIII. p. 75. Boxh.

ib. p. 208.

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veral Towns obliged them either to the Discharge of their Functions, or to leave their Cloysters and Country. A great many thereupon chose Banishment. A few Priests submitting to those Terms, continued in the Exercise of their Office. <sup>1</sup> A certain Monastery, the Abbot of which had presumed to declare the Interdict in the Pope's Name, was forcibly broke into by the People of *Utrecht*, and afterwards reduced to Ashes.

This Treatment did so provoke the Churchmen on the other hand, that some of them raged so furiously from the Pulpit against those that were Excommunicated, that they had the Boldness to assert, <sup>2</sup> *That if any one kills an Excommunicate Person, he will be rewarded by God and that if a Priest, being Excommunicated should distribute the Sacramental Bread, such Bread, far from being sacred, would rather be converted into a Toad or other Venemous Creature.*

This Schism and the Civil War that followed it, lasted at least nine Years. The Dukes, *Philip* of *Burgundy* and *Arnold* of *Gelderland*, were engaged therein, owning *Zweder* for the lawful Bishop, he having been Confirmed by the Pope. But after much Bloodshed on both sides, *Rudolf* prevailed, and the said two Dukes abandoned the unfortunate Side. Pope *Eugenius IV.* likewise embrace the Party of *Rudolf*, Con-

<sup>1</sup> Monaster. Insulæ B. Mariae. vid. Hed. p. 285. | p. 289. ex scriptis Adversarii illius temporis.

<sup>2</sup> Buchel. Not. ad Hed.

firm'd him in his Bishoprick, and thrust the other out.

This Contention of the Bishops, who were the principal Heads of the Clergy, for spiritual Greatness, was the Cause that less notice was taken of the smaller Members. Wherefore the Irregularity of Life prevail'd yet more in the Monasteries, and the Corruption of Manners was so excessive, that at last some of the Fryers themselves, in whom Religion was not quite extinct, broke out into heavy Complaints and severe Reproaches. The most memorable Strokes of these odious Truths deserve, for their Singularity, a place in this Book; tho' it must be owned, that Every reason of the Antiquity thereof, and the Negligence of those that recorded them, we cannot point out the exact Time when they happen'd. The first that occurs is the Letter of a certain Monk, who writes thus of his Comrades: *They spend their Days and Nights in all kinds of Diversions, in Eating, Drinking, Sleeping, Sport- ing, Bantering, their Tongues uttering the Ful- ness of their corrupt Hearts. — They are Dis- obedient, Unlearned, Obstinate, Quarrellsome, impatient, Worthless, Rude in their Language; they bate Retirement, they love Company, desir- ing nothing but what savours of the World. In their Cells they sit all day idle, without any spi- ritual Employment. They spend their Time in trifling and useless Matters. At Festival Times their Hearts are full of worldly and bruta*  

E  
Thoughts!

\* Boxhorn. Ned. Hist. p. 148, &c.



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*Thoughts. They are Quick at Table, but Slow at Praying : Very ready to murmur if their Meat or Drink, or any other Gratification of their Voluptuousness be wanting — The Places in which their Predecessors had planted the Seat of Virtue and Religion, marching in their Solitude as it were into the Field of Battle, against the Flesh, the World and the Devil, the Prince thereof, and in which they came off Conquerors ; those places are now turned to Brothel-houses, and to Camps of earthly Devils, in which nothing now reigns but Impurity, Adultery, Drunkenness, Ambition, Rapine, Covetousness, and innumerable other Crimes.*

Henry Loeder, Prior of the Monastery called Frendesweel, near Northboorn, writ to his Brother in the following manner : <sup>1</sup> Dear Brother The Love I bear your State and Welfare for the sake of the Blood of Christ, obliges me to take a Rod, instead of a Pen, into my Hand. I know very well, - that under your various Difficulties comfortable Words would be welcome to you ; but your irregular Behaviour deserves, and greatly requires, a severe Reprehension. I am grieved at your Disobedience towards your Superior ; your cold Love towards each other ; your Zeal for saying a number of Masses every where, and at the same time your Negligence in the Amendment of your Lives, and the Scandal arising from thence. You take pains to please Men, but care not how you displease God. Does not the Ap

I say, If I yet pleased Men, I should  
 not be the Servant of Christ. You Gal. i. 10.  
 are for regulating every thing without, in the  
 World, whilst the Filth of your Cloister greatly  
 wants the Broom and the Mop. It likewise  
 grieves my Soul, that your Avarice and Love of  
 Pleasure are unsatiable. You will part with no-  
 thing, not even with those things that you can  
 best spare. O ye cowardly and temporizing Sol-  
 diers of Christ! who will not fight the Fight of  
 the Cross, nor drink of the bloody Grapes! Alas!  
 is it possible, according to the Life that ye lead,  
 spending it wholly in Gluttony and Wantonness,  
 to set up the Cross of Christ, to which ye are all  
 called in particular. Fie, ye poor Despisers of  
 the World! who can gratifie your unsatiable Lusts,  
 and the Greatness of your Passions? I never saw  
 those Cloisters flourish and increase in Godliness,  
 which daily increased in Temporal Estates and  
 Possessions; on the contrary, those grow rich in  
 Grace, where Poverty and Patience dwell toge-  
 ther. I beseech you therefore, that you will ad-  
 minister to your selves with Moderation, the En-  
 joyment of worldly Pleasures, and let Spiritual  
 Riches be your Treasure, upon which you set  
 your Heart and Thoughts. Embrace the Cross,  
 and the Crucified Jesus: Therein you shall find  
 full Content. Be humble in your own Conceit,  
 for Haughtiness and Submission cannot go hand  
 in hand. Bear with one another. Depart for-  
 ever from Hypocrisie, which has hitherto shame-  
 fully sullied all your Actions. <sup>1</sup> They who were

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<sup>1</sup> Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 152, &c.

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so zealous for a Reformation, were in those Times called *Reformers of the Clergy*.

Not far from *Harlem* there was a Cloister nam'd, *The Visitation of our Blessed Lady*, where the Prior *John van Kempen* censured the Lives and Actions of the Monks in these Words: *We would be Humble, but cannot bear Contempt; Patient without Oppressions or Sufferings; Obedient without Subjection, or any coercive Power; Poor without wanting any thing; Virtuous without any troublesome Exercise of Virtue; Penitent without Smart or Sorrow; Beloved, tho' we know not what it is to Love; Honoured without giving any Proofs of a sober and a Holy Life. Our Lord Christ never acted thus; but taught expressly, that the Kingdom of Heaven is to be enter'd by Violence, and by bearing all Wrongs and Evils with Patience.*

<sup>1</sup> About this time, but the Year is not named, *Henry Wilde*, a Regular Monk of *Bois le Duc* spake openly at *Amsterdam* in *Holland*, at *Tillemont* in *Brabant* and elsewhere, not only against the Lives of the Clergy, but attempted likewise to reform some of the Abuses that were crept into their Doctrine. Being afterwards chosen Prior of the same Monastery, he caused several wanton Songs, which some of the lascivious Monks had mix'd with the Anthems, for stimulating the Lusts of the Flesh, to be torn out of the Choir-Books. When he was desired by his Brethren to sing Masses in Commemoration of some

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<sup>1</sup> Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 159.

that were deceased, and had order'd the same, he was wont to answer ; *Let them pray for us, our Prayers will do them no good.*

<sup>1</sup> *John van Broekbuisen*, Prior of a Convent at *Leyderdorp* in *Holland*, resign'd his Office, because, said he, he would have no share in the Plagues which his Monks had merited by their extream vicious Courses.

*Gozewin Tyacen*, a Monk of *Zwol* in *Overijssel*, declaim'd continually against the swallowing of Lands and Possessions, saying, that such joyning of Acres to Acres, signified nothing else but that the Hearts of the Clergy forgetting, or knowing nothing of Heaven, cleaved only to Terrestrial and Corruptible things. But all this was not sufficient to stop such Disorders, which kept their Course. Many Tricks were also made use of to impose upon the Simplicity of the People. In order to support the Honour and Reverence for the Church, they talk'd of heavenly Dreams, of spiritual Visions, and holy Revelations, which some of the Monks had either dreamt, seen or heard ; most of which related to the Condition of the Dead, of which Purgatory and Masses for the Soul were the necessary Consequences.

<sup>2</sup> *Henry Mande*, of an honourable Family at *Dort*, some time Secretary to Count *William VI.* and to the Countess *Margarita*, and well look'd upon at Court, was at length weary of a Courtier's Life. He gave out, that Christ himself

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had

<sup>1</sup> Boxh. ib. p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Boxh. ib. p. 161.



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had appear'd to him, and excited him to a spiritual Life. And accordingly he forsook the Court, and put on the Fryers Cowl in the Cloyster of *Windeſheim* near *Zwol*. Here the Fancy of new Apparitions took him again : In his Solitude he convers'd with Angels, who disclosed unknown things to him. He pretended, and the Monks believ'd it, that like a second *St. Paul*, he was taken up into the third Heavens. The People were told, that he had there seen among a glorious Company, several Monks that died in his Monastery. Waiting in his turn one time at the Gate of the Monastery, he heard a knocking (as the Story goes) and let in a young Lad of a shining Aspect, who upon being interrogated, *what he was*, made answer, *the Lamb* ; and moreover, *that this Cloister was his Father's House, and they that dwell in it his true Brethren*. The Rumour of this Revelation being spread abroad, every body was earnest to know, what and whom he had seen in Heaven. The Cloyster daily swarm'd with *Askers*, and the *Answers* were richly paid for. After which they caused him to make a Tour about *Holland*, that his Visions might be yet more profitable, where he was well receiv'd in every Town, but especially at *Delf*, where he met with much Credit and much Money. To the Poor he commonly said ; *I saw the Souls of your Relations in Heaven, and there I left them* : But to all the Rich, *That he had heard their Friends and Kindred lamenting sadly in Purgatory*. And then follow'd an Exhortation to Liberality and Charity, especially

ially towards the Monks of his Cloyster, to the end, that by their Prayers the tormented Souls might be speedily released. But in time his Credit diminish'd, the Number, Strangeness and improbability of the things that were related, caused all that had been said at first, to pass for Fables, on account of the last.

There likewise rose up against him another Monk, *John de Wit* of *Utrecht*, who discover'd the Vanity of his Stories. He died afterwards in the Monastery of *Sion* near *Beverwijk*, An. 1434.

The great Prerogatives and Authorities which the Bishops of *Utrecht* exercised of old times in *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Friesland*, by their Provisors, were in the Year 1434, reduced to a much more reasonable foot. The Declaration and Order which Bishop *Rudolf* put out, to please Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*, who was then Count of *Holland*, gives us an opportunity to know that intolerable Yoke of Ecclesiastical Power, which continued however in great measure in being. Among other things we find the following: 'If to be any Priest or Clergyman is guilty of any Misdemeanour within the County of *Holland* — Whether it be by Breach of the Peace, in Fighting, by Drunkenness, or such other indecent Actions, which no discreet Clerk would commit, our dear Lord the Duke of *Burgundy* — has liberty to apprehend him by his Bailies or other Ministers, and deliver him up to Us, our Dean

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or

\* Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 163. Priv. of Amst. p. 53 and 68. Grot. Rechtgeleert. 31.

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or Provisor, where the thing happened, as cognizable where they were Clerks; and any Priest or Clerk so transgressing, shall not be discharged by us, our Dean or Provisor, before that they give Satisfaction to our dear Lord the Duke of Burgundy, according to the Nature of their Crimes.

Item, neither shall the Subjects of Holland be summoned to appear in the Bishop's Court at Utrecht, upon any account whatsoever, if the Person so summon'd be willing to appear before the Spiritual or Temporal Judge, to whose Jurisdiction he belongs.

Item, if any Person, on account of any Misdemeanour should fly for shelter to any Church or Church-yard, in such Cases where the Privilege of the Church does not absolutely belong to him, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws, our dear Lord the Duke may cause such Person to be taken out of the Church-yard, without any Violation of our Rights — Nor shall the Liberties of the Church protect any one who has maliciously or treacherously Murdered another — Nor such as have been Banish'd or Outlaw'd by our dear Lord the said Duke, for such Crimes as they shall have committed against the Prince of the Country, or against the State, or what may be properly call'd Crimen læsæ Majestatis.

Item, neither shall the Deans or Provisors molest any Person for having done any Work upon a Holy-day, whereby such Holy-day may be violated, provided it be a Work of Necessity, or of Command; such as repairing of Dikes, Fishing, Harvesting.

vest-work, or other common and necessary things, as it shall fall out.

Item, the Deans shall not exact from the Subjects of Holland, exorbitant Fees for Citations, Sentences, and other Ecclesiastical Matters; but shall conform themselves to the Practice of the Court of Utrecht.

And if any Body dies Excommunicate for Debts or other Causes; and if it be notorious, and can be proved, that it was in contempt and to the prejudice of holy Church, the Dean shall proceed in such Cases discreetly, and according to their ancient Custom; but if the Party be poor, and not faulty, the Dean shall take no more than double Contumacy-money of his Executors, i. e. twice as much as he ought to have paid living, before he could have been absolved of such Contumacy, &c.

<sup>1</sup> About the Year 1400, or somewhat later, Laurence Johnson Koster found out the Art of composing Letters or Printing, which soon fill'd the World with Numbers of Books and Sciences, and at the same time turn'd greatly to the Prejudice of the Papacy, by publishing and dispersing such Books as were writ against it. <sup>2</sup> And whereas before, People used none but Manuscripts or written Books, and for one Copy of the Bible tolerably written upon Vellom, were wont to pay four or five hundred Crowns, it might

<sup>1</sup> H. Jun. Bat. Cap. XVII. | Urb. Germ. p. 200. Erasmi  
p. 253. Boxh. Hist. Univ. | Epist. p. 1696, &c. Ib. Adag.  
p. 946. Ib. Ned. Hist. p. 169. | p. 353. Hoofst. Hist. p. 200,  
Theat. Holl. p. 104. Contin. of | Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 179.  
Merula, p. 928. P. Bertij de



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might now be bought for sixty, and soon after, as the Art grew more common, for four or five Crowns. Thus the Vulgar, who could not reach the Price of Manuscript Bibles, found it easie to read the Holy Scriptures in Print.

The necessary Truths on which Salvation depends, were only to be found here: And comparing the Lives and Doctrines of most of the Churchmen with this only Rule of Faith and Manners, they observed therein too much Superstition, and too little Love. On the other hand, Self-love, the Corrupter of all Manners, prevail'd almost over all Churches and Cloysters. <sup>1</sup> Many of the Clergy turn'd Merchants, which was so much the more prejudicial to the common People; in as much as they being Tax-free, were able to under-sell them, and afford their Commodities at easier Rates than other Shopkeepers, who starv'd for want of Business, and complain'd grievously, that the Clergy abused to secular Purposes, the Privileges granted them, to enable them the better to mind their spiritual Affairs; and so took the Bread out of the Mouths of those that helpt to feed them.

Thus were the Monasteries converted into Shops and Warehouses for Burghers and Strangers; and the Mansions of Secular Priests, into Inns and Tap-houses for the Inhabitants, and for Travellers.

<sup>2</sup> Some Towns opposed these Practices by sharp Edicts; and Duke *Philip* found himself obliged

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<sup>1</sup> Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 124, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

obliged again to provide against the Clergy's inheriting, and purchasing Immoveable Goods, by the following Letter :

**F**Orasmuch as there have been in our Dominions of Holland and Zeland, within the Space of a few Years, founded, built, and endowed such a number of Cloisters and Convents of Monks and Nuns, of Brothers and Sisters of the Order of St. Francis, as are by much too many, in proportion to the Extent of our said Dominions ; and whereas there is yet a daily Increase of the same ; and whereas in those Cloisters, Houses, and Convents of both Sexes, almost all Trades and Handicrafts are carried on, which is by no means decent or proper : And although they be Ordained and Gifted Persons, or should be such, yet have they hitherto concerned themselves with the Estates and Inheritances of their Ancestors, and hold them by such Tenure without devolving them upon others ; so that unless timely Care be taken to put a Stop thereto, they are like to get into their Hands all the Lands and Inheritances, together with the Rights and Immunities thereunto belonging, especially if it be considered how they are increased in a few Years ; by which means We and our Successors shall lose our Services, and our poor Subjects and all the common People their Trades and Employments — For these Reasons we have Ordained, Resolved and Decreed, that from henceforward no Ecclesiasticks, of what Order soever they be, in our Territories of

\* Boxhorn. ib. p. 189, &c. Privil. of Amst. p. 55, 56.

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of Holland, Zeland and Frieland, shall take or receive any Inheritances of their Ancestors, Relations, or Friends in any manner; nor shall they be capable of any more Estates, or receiving by last Wills and Testaments, or otherwise, within our said Dominions, before that it be adjusted by Commissioners, whom we shall appoint, how and in what manner they may hereafter inherit to which they are hereby strictly required and commanded to conform themselves. Given under our Hand this Twenty first Day of October, in the Year of our Lord 1445.

In the mean while, the Clergy carry'd on another sort of a Spiritual and Invisible Trade, that of *Indulgences* and *Masses* for the Soul, both of them inexhaustible Golden Mines. The greatest Crimes were set at a Price, and made pardonable as well as the smallest. <sup>1</sup> The *Book of Rates*, by which the Confessors were to govern themselves in the Sale of Sins, and other Matters that were only so far lawful as the Pope pleased, was adjusted by the Papal Court, where no Bulls were writ for *Nothing*. In this Bull, which *Wolfgang Musculus* afterwards published in <sup>2</sup> one of his Books, we read Things that are astonishing: That a Jew was allowed to have a Synagogue in his own House, upon paying thirty *Livres Tournois*, seven *Ducats*, and five *Carolines*; and to set up a new one for sixty *Tournois*.

<sup>1</sup> M. A. de Dom. Rep. Eccl. p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> In loc. eorum de Ministris verbi, p. 401, &c. Vid. Morn. f. 656. Episcop. vera Anti-

quit. p. 116. S. Curcel. Epist. ad S. Sorb. p. 17, 18. F. Jun. Reponcé à l'Apologie de J. Haren. p. 71.

*Tournois* and fifteen *Ducats*. A Cunning Woman, or Conjuror, after abjuring her Superstitions, was taxed for every Incantation or Charm, *x Tournois* and eleven *Ducats*. Absolution from Heresie (which must be understood of such Hereticks as returned to Papal Slavery) was rated at thirty six *Tournois* and nine *Ducats*; or twelve *Tournois*, three *Ducats* and six *Carolines*, if the Party were a Lay-man. Absolution for all sort of Impurity committed by a Clergyman, even with Nuns, and whether within or without the Walls of the Cloisters, or with Kindred, or with Betrothed Persons, or even with one's Spiritual or God-Daughter, was also set at thirty six *Tournois* and three *Ducats*. Unnatural Sins at ninety *Tournois*, twelve *Ducats*, six *Carolines*. The keeping a Concubine, at twenty one *Tournois*, five *Ducats*, six *Carolines*. The Discharge or Absolution from an Oath, in order to carry on one's Affairs, cost for one Person, and in one Engagement, seven *Tournois*, eleven *Ducats*, three *Carolines*. The Murder of a Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, or Wife, four *Tournois*, one *Ducat*, eight *Carolines*. Upon this foot did *Jonker Henry van Monfort* procure his Pardon for a kind of Parricide, in the Year 1456: He had kept his Father in Prison till he died; from which wicked Action, *Rudolph*, Bishop of *Utrecht*, absolv'd him for a Pecuniary Mult.

2 Soon after, that is to say, about the Year  
1450,

1 Hed. Hist. p. 287. | Vign. p. 589. Morn. Hist.  
2 Bellarm. de Script. Eccles. | Pap. f. 581. Buch. ad Hed.  
p. 234. Cat. Test. XIX. 871. | p. 290.



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1450, Pope *Nicholas V.* sent the Cardinal of *Cusa* a German, famous for his Knowledge in Languages, Learning, Eloquence, and the Regularity of his Life, both into Upper and Lower Germany; <sup>1</sup> his Business was partly to preach of the *Indulgences*, and partly to reform the Disorders of the Clergy. He was received in this Country as a Legate or Ambassador from the See of *Rome*, with great Honours: Both Clergy and Laity went out to meet him, and brought him in with Banners, Crosses, and Ringing of Bells. <sup>2</sup> The People sang, *Welcome, welcome you, whom we have so long expected in our Darkness.*

<sup>3</sup> At the time of the Council of *Basil* this Cardinal opposed the Pope, and with <sup>4</sup> the Cardinal of *St. Angelo* and <sup>5</sup> *Aeneas Sylvius*, (who himself was afterwards Pope) defended the said Council against *Eugenius IV.* <sup>6</sup> He advised the Emperor to reform the *Romish* Court, and to prevent the scandalous Traffick of Ecclesiastical Benefices. But he soon spoke another Language especially when he was made a Cardinal. However he did not entirely bow down his Neck to the Papal Yoke; for in discharge of his Commission in these Parts, he did not only oppose

<sup>1</sup> Heda. 287. *Chron. of Holl.* f. 236. Boxh. Ned. Hist. 184, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Boxh. ib. p. 185 & 193.

<sup>3</sup> M. A. de Dom. Rep. Eccl. 69, &c. Vign. p. 586, &c. Morn. f. 563, &c. Boxh. Hist. Univ. p. 290. Vid. *Erasmi* Epist. p. 673.

<sup>4</sup> Bellarm. ib. p. 299. Vign. p. 589.

<sup>5</sup> Bellarm. ib. p. 229. De Dom. ib. p. 318 & 724. Cat. Test. p. 870. Vign. p. 594, &c. Morn. f. 589, &c. Boxh. ib. p. 958.

<sup>6</sup> De Dom. ib. p. 90.

and endeavour to correct all Corruption in Manners, but likewise all Abuses in Doctrine, especially those that had any Influence on the Lives of Men. <sup>1</sup> At *Utrecht*, and elsewhere, he ascended the Pulpit, and thunder'd against all Irregularities. <sup>2</sup> As to Images, he was of Opinion, that there was too much Honour shewn them, and that they signified nothing more than Memorials of the good Lives of the Saints, who, by our Contemplation on their Pictures, or Statues, excited us to a steady Imitation of them. He also discharged many from their Vows of Pilgrimage to certain Shrines, to which a peculiar Virtue was ascribed. <sup>4</sup> As for *Indulgences*, he was heard to say sometimes, that People were not the better, but the worse for them, forasmuch as Sins that were so easily forgiven, would always be too light: That *Jubilees* were as destructive to the Souls, as to the Purfes of Men; and that True Indulgences were only to be found in the Scriptures. But he spake thus under the Rose only, as we say, and among Friends; <sup>3</sup> for it is related of him, that he himself distributed Indulgences, making the People believe, that the Money they paid for them should be employ'd in building Monasteries and Alms-Houses, or Hospitals in their own Country. It is likewise said, that in preaching up the Indulgences, he used this Argument; *The Pope could indeed forgive all Sins for Nothing, but not the Punishment*

<sup>1</sup> Chron. of Holl. ib.	Heda	Dutch Clergyman of that Age.
ib. & Boxh. ib. p. 50.		<sup>4</sup> Boxh. ib.
<sup>2</sup> & <sup>3</sup> Boxh. ib. from a certain		<sup>5</sup> Chron. Holl. ib. Boxh. ib.
M. S. in Latin of Fred. Heilo, a	193.	

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ment that must be necessarily inflicted upon Sinners. He declared also, that those who did the proper Penance of seven Years for a Mortal Sin, and of fourteen Years for a double Mortal Sin, such as Adultery and the like, need not fear Purgatory after this Life; but they who did not fully discharge the said Penances, would lie there till they paid the utmost Farthing. But for the Benefit of those, who being laden with many Sins, were not able to perform such Penances, the Pope had vouchsafed to utter these Indulgences, in order to ease them of such heavy Burthens. <sup>1</sup> Some saw through these Arguments, Penances were expressly made insupportable; and then it was given out, that they might indeed be discharged, but it would cost Money.

<sup>2</sup> When he visited the Cloisters, he enquired into their Endowments, and into the Number, Management and Behaviour of the Monks. He found Societies of no more than six or seven Persons, who enjoy'd Revenues sufficient for the Support of near ten times as many. A certain Abbot was possess'd of as many Acres of Land, as there are Days in the Year, the third part of the yearly Income of which he appropriated to the Maintenance of his Table only. <sup>4</sup> Whereupon Duke *Philip* renewed in the Year 1452, the Placart or Decree, by which the Clergy were forbid to inherit or buy Lands, saving in Cases therein mentioned.

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<sup>1</sup> About

<sup>2</sup> Boxh. ib. p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Boxh. ib. p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Morgen in the Original.

<sup>4</sup> Pont. Hist. Amsterd. 22

| &c.

1 About this time *Jahn Busb*, a regular Canon of the Chapter of *Windesheim*, took upon him to correct the Manners of the Monks, in these or such like Terms: *The ancient Zeal was grown old and dwindled away. The World and the Flesh were always uppermost in the Hearts of the regular Clergy, who were only devoted to their pleasure and Profit, to the Desires of the Flesh, to the Vanity of the World, to Adulation of Great Men, to a fond Conceit of their own worth, and to the pursuit of those things in the World, which they, as persons separated from the World, and consecrated to a perpetual Warfare with it, ought to despise and abhor. This proceeded from the Temporal Goods they enjoyed; from thence arose their Aversion to Spiritual, and their Adherence to Transitory Things. Devotion had procured great Riches to the Church, but these Riches had swallowed up their Mother. From hence it came, that true Piety, formerly hatched and nursed in the Bosom of Humility and Poverty, was now quite lost and disappeared. Yea, he affirmed, that the established Rules were observed in none of the Cloisters; that no Place was now to be found, in which God might be served in Solitude, and the World abandoned; the Monks being frightened, and crying out as if they were murdered, upon the least Mention of Reformation.* 2 It is likewise related of this same Canon, who has left several Tracts behind him, that when two Monks, *Frier Berthold* and *Frier Nicholas*, of  
F Scoonhoven,

<sup>1</sup> Boxh. Ned. Hist. p. 190, | <sup>2</sup> Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg.  
kc. | p. 469.



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*Scoonhoven*, were a little toucht in their Heads; the rest of the Friers were of Opinion, that they had *Fasted too long*, and that for the same Reason the three following Questions were put to all Novices; *1 Whether they could Eat well, Sleep well, and Obey their Superiours?*

It was very grievous to the Civil Magistrates that the Clergy should give Shelter in the Churches, and Church-yards of their Cloisters to Criminals, whereby they rendered themselves very respectable to the common People, and stood in the Way of common Justice. Some Provision had been made against these Incroachments upon the Rights of the Government in the Year 1430, but the Clergy kept what they had usurped as long as they could.

Matters were carried on so high at *Hoorn* in the Year 1459, that some seditious Persons (the Townsmen being divided among themselves) sheltered themselves by Day in the Church-yard, and at Night sallied out, armed with Bows and Arrows, scouring the Streets and stormed the Houses of their Adversaries; but when they were opposed or pursued, or after having accomplished their evil Designs, they retired to the Church-yard, their Ramparts, which they were secure. But their Insolence was soon quell'd, and an Order was sent to the *Scout*, or Sheriff of *Hoorn*, by the Duke of *Burgundy*, in the following Terms: *2 We strictly charge and command our Scout of Hoorn, that*

<sup>1</sup> Boxh. ib. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Velij Chron. p. 40.

he apprehend and take into his Custody all such persons as lurk and conceal themselves in Churchyards and other consecrated places within the said Town, and that sally out of the said Churchyards or consecrated places, in order to molest and assault our Subjects either in their Bodies or Goods, and that he fetch them out by force from the said places, &c.

In the same Year there arose a bloody Persecution against some innocent Persons, whom they would have to be *Waldenses* or *Vaudois*. By which they understood (so odious was that Name become) not only Heretics, but also Sorcerers and Servants of the Devil. Some of these were imprison'd at *Douay* and *Arras*, at the desire of the Inquisitor, *Peter van Broussart*. They confess'd, when put upon the Rack, all that was laid to their charge; amongst other things, that they were in the service of the Devil; that they worship'd him; that he had carnal Knowledge of them, and such like horrible, and incredible things. Being condemn'd to be burnt, they openly declared their Innocency at the Stake, saying, they had never been in *Vaudery* (for so were those pretended Assembly of Witches and Devils stiled) but that they were deluded by the Judges, who had prevail'd upon them by their Promises of saving their Lives and Estates, if they would own what was proposed to them. Some said, what we have confess'd is extorted from us by Torments; then they intreated the by-standers to help them to pray; and in the midst of the Flames recommended their Souls to God.

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Time has since brought Truth and Innocency to light ; for in the Year 1490, these very Persons that were put to Death, and divers others imprison'd on the like account, were by the Judgment of the Parliament of *Paris*, declared Innocent, restored to their Honour and Estates, and great Fines set upon their Judges.

In order to take away in some measure the Scandal which both the Secular and Regular Clergy, occasion'd by the Irregularity of their Lives, the *Romish* Church made use, in particular, of the Order of the *Franciscan Mendicants*, who deceiv'd the People by an affected Humility, Sobriety and Poverty ; but it was still the same Monk in another Hood. This was first observ'd at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1462, into which City they had just then crept ; which is strange, if we consider, that above one hundred and fifty Years had been run off since the Institution of their Order. One of their Monks *John Brugman*, brought them into the Town even in spite of the Magistrates ; for being of a hard Forehead, and a soft Tongue, he so wheedled the good People, that it became a Proverb in *Amsterdam* ; *'Tho' you could wheedle like John Brugman*. The said Monk gave them a great deal of Trouble, to which *Jelis Krabbellin*, Counsellor of the Duke of *Burgundy*, did also contribute, by a Letter he brought from Prince *Charles*, the Duke's Son, which he would not deliver but in a full Meeting of the Magistrates

<sup>1</sup> Pont. Hist. Amst. p. 268.

of that City. What happen'd thereupon, may be seen in the following Edict of the said Magistracy.

WE the Burgomasters, Aldermen and Council of the City of *Amsterdam*, Do declare and certifie to every one who shall see or hear this Letter, That Master *Jelis Krabbeliin*, Counsellor of our Gracious Lord, came not long since into this City one Day in the Forenoon, and repaired to the House of our Burgomaster, *Gerrit Matthews*, who having the Government and Direction of Affairs during the present Quarter of the Year, and who, according to the Custom of this place, has the Right of receiving all foreign Letters, or such as come from other Parts, of giving an Answer, and treating about such Matters as shall then happen; and the said *Krabbeliin* acquainted him the said Burgomaster, that he had brought seal'd Letters from our Gracious Prince *Charles*, and from the Lords the Stadtholders, to the Scout, Burgomasters, Aldermen and Council of the said City of *Amsterdam*: Whereupon the Burgomaster before named, was willing and ready with the utmost Respect, to receive the said Letters; and in a Committee of three or four of his Brethren, that were at hand, immediately to peruse the same, and then, according to the ancient Customs of this City, to give

F 3

“ such



“ such Orders thereupon as was necessary  
 “ Whereupon the said Master *Jelis* answer’d  
 “ that he could not deliver his said Letters to be  
 “ perused among a few of them, in such a man-  
 “ ner, but desired that the whole Government  
 “ and all the most considerable Persons of the  
 “ Town, might be call’d together, and that he  
 “ might see them with his own Eyes, before  
 “ he deliver’d the said Letters. Thus the afore-  
 “ said Burgomaster observed from his Words  
 “ and Actions, that these Letters concern’d the  
 “ afore-mention’d Fryers, who had insinuated  
 “ themselves into the City in such a strange  
 “ manner, and had procured a Settlement, from  
 “ whence, God help us ! great Dissentions do  
 “ arise, partly among the Magistrates, and part-  
 “ ly among the Community ; and he the said  
 “ Burgomaster suspected, that the calling toge-  
 “ ther all those Persons as was desired, might  
 “ occasion yet greater Mischief. Wherefore  
 “ the said Burgomaster (that he might satisfy  
 “ the Duke, and obey his Letters) according to  
 “ the Privileges and Custom of this City, call’d  
 “ together the standing Magistrates, that is to  
 “ say, the four Burgomasters and six Aldermen  
 “ (the seventh being out of Town) and then  
 “ sent for Master *Jelis*, and acquainted him  
 “ that the said Magistrates were assembled and  
 “ sitting, with full power not only to receive  
 “ his Letters, but to bear other Burdens relat-  
 “ ing to the City, which might be much more  
 “ insupportable than those Letters : Wherefore  
 “ if he would deliver his Letters, they were

“ ready

ready to receive them in a friendly manner. and to act therein according to their Duty, When Master *Felis* understood that, he answer'd, That he was not like those Messengers or Post-men, whose Business only was to deliver their Letters, but repeated it several times, that he was a Privy Counsellor of our gracious Sovereign the Duke, as also Counsellor of our gracious Prince *Charles*; that he could Write and Read, which was more than all Messengers could do: He bid them look upon the Supercription of the said Letters, which were directed to the Scout, Burgoasters, Aldermen, and to all the Companies and Chief Inhabitants of the City, and therefore he would see them altogether, and called over by Christian and Surname, before that he would deliver his Letters. He insisting upon this, and we fearing that this manner of convening all the People together, might cause more Strife and Confusion, we declared to him, that we durst not do it, but besought him to deliver the Letters, &c. He again refused, unless we would say, that we were all the Persons to whom the said Letters were directed, and give him ample Testimonials thereof. This we look'd upon to be treacherous Dealing, and projected to bring us into fresh Trouble: We answer'd therefore; Look ye Master *Felis*, we cannot certifye such a thing as this; for our Scout, to whom the Letters are likewise directed, is out of Town, and at the *Hague*: But that

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“ you may have no Pretence of complaining  
 “ stay till he returns, and then we will consider  
 “ again of this Matter, in case you desire it  
 “ Hereupon Master *Jelis* took his leave of us  
 “ and never desired any thing more of us after  
 “ that time. But he stay’d in the City after-  
 “ wards above four or five Days, caballing and  
 “ meeting privately with the said Fryers, and  
 “ daily haunting their Sermons, where many  
 “ factious and strange Expressions were used to  
 “ exasperate the People, from whom they ex-  
 “ acted certain Promises before a Crucifix, which  
 “ *Brugman* drew out of his Sleeve, that they  
 “ would keep the said Fryers in the City till  
 “ Death: These Promises were made in the  
 “ presence of the said Master *Jelis*. And altho  
 “ it is credibly reported, that the said *Brugman*  
 “ preach’d daily in the House of the said Fry-  
 “ ers, during the Octave of St. *Francis*, and  
 “ made sad Faces in his Sermons, and proposed  
 “ strange Questions, and answer’d them him-  
 “ self, in order to stir up the Passions of the  
 “ Common People, and to terrifie them; yet  
 “ since we neither were present, nor heard these  
 “ things ourselves, we would not testifie the  
 “ same; but we have earnestly requested the  
 “ Reverend Provisor, and the Dean of *Water-*  
 “ *land* and *Amsterland*, that they would openly  
 “ by their Letters, Witness and Certifie these  
 “ things, to the end, that all and every one  
 “ may know how these Fryers and their Adhe-  
 “ rents have carried themselves in direct opposi-  
 “ tion to the Rights and Privileges formerly  
 “ granted

“ granted the said City of *Amsterdam* by Duke  
“ *William*; which Privileges run thus:

*T H A T* henceforwards there shall be no more  
Cloysters or Religious Houses founded, nor the  
Number of Ecclesiasticks increased; nor shall  
there be bought, given, or bequeath'd any more  
Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments for the  
like Purposes, excepting Parishes and Hospitals,  
within our City of *Amsterdam*, or Liberties  
thereof.

Given in our City of *Middelburg*, 4 Nov. 1411.

“ In opposition to which Privilege, the said  
“ Fryers have presumed to possess themselves of  
“ a House and Lands (since *Whitsontide* and no  
“ longer) within the said City of *Amsterdam*;  
“ which they pretend was a Promise made to  
“ them, in order to found a Monastery there,  
“ and to continue therein 'till Death. This  
“ whole Matter has past as it is here related;  
“ In Testimony whereof We have hereunto an-  
“ nex'd the City-Seal.

Given the 20<sup>th</sup> of *October*, 1462.

*T H E* Certificate which the Provisor and  
Dean of *Amsteland* sign'd at the Request of the  
Magistrates, relating to this Affair of *Brugman*,  
and representing the natural Picture of this un-  
polish'd Age, runs thus *verbatim*:

“ W E



“ WE the Provisor and Dean of *Amst-*  
*land, Waterland and Zeevank,* Do  
 “ by these Presents make known to all Men,  
 “ That whereas not long since the Fryers (so  
 “ called) of the Observants, did celebrate the  
 “ Octaves of *St. Francis* within the City of *Am-*  
*sterdam,* it has so happen'd, that one of the  
 “ said Observants, named *Brugman,* has pre-  
 “ sumed without Leave of the Parish Priest,  
 “ and against the Priveleges of the City, to  
 “ preach strange and seditious things before the  
 “ People, every day of the said Octaves; and  
 “ without any regard to the Subject of his Text,  
 “ and instead of instilling good Doctrines into  
 “ the Minds of the People, has rather endea-  
 “ vour'd to excite Tumults and Riots against  
 “ the Government, and to create Discord be-  
 “ tween the Magistrates and the People. And  
 “ the said *Brugman* on one of the Days of the  
 “ said Octave, in the middle of his Sermon  
 “ produced a Paper, in which were contain'd  
 “ Questions and Answers to himself, and great  
 “ Commendations of himself, and amongst o-  
 “ thers, the following Expressions: O *Brug-*  
*man, Brugman! what a sad Wretch hast thou*  
*been? Thou wast wont to go with long Masses*  
*and help to maintain Brothel-houses. Tell me,*  
*Brugman, to what End art thou now come?*  
*to maintain the same? I trow not. Thou art*  
*now come to root out the same, if so be, God*  
*help us! no body else will undertake it. Brug-*  
*man, art thou come to bargain for the Office*  
 of

of Scout, or to buy a Benefice? No certainly,  
 thou wilt not be guilty of Simony; thou art  
 only come to converse with the poor rejected  
 Cows. Brugman, is thy Design to destroy or  
 ruin the first Cloyster, all the other Cloysters  
 or Monasteries? I trow, not. Brugman  
 will leave the Wool upon the Sheep's Back,  
 and bear Confession for God's sake, without  
 Money. Brugman, wilt thou run away from  
 those that are visited with the Plague, as  
 some have done? I trow, not. Thou wilt  
 always stay by them, whether they be Rich  
 or Poor, thou wilt lay thy Mouth upon their  
 Mouths, and not forsake them to the Death.  
 These and many more such strange Questions  
 tending to seduce the People, and prejudicial  
 to the Rights of this City, as well as to the  
 Parish Priests, did this Man propose; but it  
 would be too tedious to relate them all. And  
 at last he pull'd a Crucifix out of his Sleeve,  
 which he lifted up on high, shewing it to the  
 People that were met together in great Num-  
 bers, and spake openly in the following manner:  
 Good People, ye have heard the Reasons why  
 I and my poor innocent Brethren would gladly  
 live among you, and be possessors of a poor Cloy-  
 ster, namely, to show you all the Way to ever-  
 lasting Life, and to assist you therein. But  
 since there be some who would fain hinder it  
 if they could, tho', God be thanked, they can-  
 not, ye shall do well to pray devoutly for them,  
 that they may desist from their evil Purposes.  
 And therefore my dear Friends in Christ, as  
 we

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“ we are resolved to continue here, and as we  
 “ shall stand in need of your assistance, in order  
 “ to attain our Ends : I therefore beseech you  
 “ by that Crucified God after whom this Image  
 “ is made, that all of you who will stand by, and  
 “ not forsake us, do<sup>1</sup> lift up your Hands. Where-  
 “ upon many Hands being lifted up, and some  
 “ of the Men who sat near the Pulpit saying;  
 “ Sir, we will stand by you to the Death : Brug-  
 “ man made answer ; That he would venture  
 “ his old Neck for the Cause. These and such  
 “ like Expressions were then used, which ought  
 “ by no means to be suffer’d in a good City,  
 “ where Peace and Quiet is necessary ; and it  
 “ is not doubted but that Master *Jelis Krabe-*  
 “ *liin* was present at this Lifting up of Hands,  
 “ and at the making these unlawful Promises :  
 “ And it is reported by many, that he concerted  
 “ this Business, to the end, that he might see  
 “ and hear the Inclinations of the People towards  
 “ the said Observant Fryers, that he might te-  
 “ stifie of the same in Time and Place. And  
 “ forasmuch as we the Provisor and Dean, do  
 “ look upon it to be our bounden Duty, to have  
 “ an Eye upon the exacting all such unusual  
 “ kinds of Promises and Engagements from the  
 “ People, which might tend to the Ruin of the  
 “ Parish Priests, to say nothing of the City it  
 “ self, where, if they should go on after this  
 “ manner, we should fall into utter Confusion  
 “ and

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<sup>1</sup> As to this kind of Preaching, see *Journal du Regne de Henri III.* p. 120.

and Disorder: And since it is credibly reported, that every tittle of this Charge is true, whereof we our selves have seen and heard the most part; yet to the end, that we may regularly certifie the same, according to the Forms of Law, we have summon'd before us two Worthy and Reverend Priests, namely, Mr. *Bartholomew Peeterson*, and Mr. *Hilbrant Willemson*, Natives of this City of *Amsterdam*, who laying their Hands upon their Breast, and giving their solemn Oath according to Law, openly declared before us, that they were then present when *Brugman* question'd and answer'd himself in the manner above-mention'd; and lifted up the Crucifix on high, and required a Promise of the People, which some of them made in these words; *That they would stand by him to the Death.* And the said *Peeterson* and *Willemson* farther deposed, That they believe the said Master *Jelis* and some others of the Court of *Holland* were then present. And forasmuch as it is but just and equitable that the Truth be testified in all righteous Matters; and since all has happen'd as has been related, we have thought fit, at the Request of the Burgomasters, Aldermen and Council of *Amsterdam*, to certifie the same by this our Letter annex'd to theirs, both of them being sealed with our respective Seals.

“ Given this 22<sup>d</sup> day of *October*, 1462.

W H E



WHETHER any Punishment was inflicted on the said *Brugman* for this his seditious Sermon, does not appear ; but it is certain, he did not die at *Amsterdam* <sup>1</sup> ; for we find he died at *Nimwegen* in the Year 1473. <sup>2</sup> But against this *Brugman* and his irregular Behaviour, we may oppose *Thomas Hamerken van Kempen*, who was his Contemporary, and who by his Life and Works has shown, that something good may proceed from Monkery, and even exclusive of the Society of *St. Francis*. This Man was a Regular Canon of the Order of *St. Austin*, belonging to the Monastery of *St. Agnes-berg* near *Swol*, under the Chapter of *Wändesheim*. <sup>3</sup> His daily Saying was ; *I sought Rest every where, but found it no where, save in Books and Solitude*. He left a Book behind him of great value, full of Arguments and Exhortations to all Virtues internal and external ; to reading the Holy Scriptures, Repentance, Self-denial, Forsaking the World, Humility, Patience, Acknowledgment of God's Goodness, and all other good Works of Piety and Charity. Some are of Opinion, that by that Book of his, *De Imitatione Christi*, he endeavoured to reduce the Clergy, who were fallen into many Errors in Practice and Doctrine, to the true Knowledge of Spiritual Things, and to a better Life, which is the best kind of *Reformation*. After that he had lived 71 Years in a Mo-

<sup>1</sup> Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 739. Voss. de Hist. Latin. p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> Bellarm. de Script. Eccl. p. 224, 235. Val. Andr. ib. p. 806.

<sup>3</sup> Vita Th. Kemp. ab Herib. Rosweiid edit.

a Monastery, and attain'd to the Age of 92, he died on the 24th of July, in the Year 1471.

About four Years before the Death of Kempis, on Simon and Jude's Day, was born that great Miracle of Wit and Learning *Erasmus Desiderius* at Rotterdam; his Name in our Mother Tongue was *Gerrit Gerritsen*, <sup>1</sup> who has so well shown us the Way to a true Reformation. I describe him in the Words of that Great Man of Delf, (that was afterwards so like him in many things, that fell short of him in a very few, and in some exceeded him) never suffering himself to be enslaved by disputable Questions, nor by the Ceremonies of either Party. We Hollanders can never sufficiently thank this Man; and for my own part, I think my self happy, that at this distance I can in some measure comprehend his Virtues.

*Philip Duke of Burgundy* <sup>2</sup> surnamed the Good, who by the help of the (so call'd) <sup>3</sup> *Kabbeljaw* Faction, had thrust himself, by force, into the Inheritance of <sup>4</sup> his Niece *Jacoba*, the lawful Countess of *Holland*, <sup>5</sup> in her Life-time, <sup>6</sup> died in the same Year.

Thus the Earldom of *Holland* and *Zeland*, and other Territories, by the Extinction of the ancient Counts in <sup>7</sup> *John* the First, <sup>8</sup> passing thro' the Houses of *Hainalt* and *Bavaria*, <sup>9</sup> center'd all

<sup>1</sup> Grotius in a Letter to Uiten-  
bogaert. 26. 1632.

<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> & <sup>6</sup> Scriv. Old Bat.  
p. 405. Buch. ad Hedam. &  
*Erasm. Epist.* 583. concerning the  
two Factions, nicknamed *Kabbel-*  
*jaw* and *Hoecks*. Vid. *Chron. of*  
*Holland*, p. 241. Scriv. ib.

139. Heemsk. Bat. Arcad.  
p. 335. Uitemb. Church Hist.  
p. 820. Ned. Hist. 244. Boxh.  
Hist. Univ. 937. &c.  
<sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> & <sup>9</sup> Chron. of Holland.  
Divis. XXI. p. 194. & Divis.  
XXX. Old Batav. p. 286, &c.  
Ph. de Celines, Lib. I, &c.

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all in *Charles the Bold*, the only Son of *Philip*. The said *Charles* did not only merit that Epithet by the Wars he made, but also by his courageous Behaviour against the Clergy. His Treasury having been exhausted by War, and his Subjects impoverish'd by numerous Taxes, he sought for Money where it was, namely, among the Ecclesiasticks. He sent his Letters Patent, dated *September 1474*, throughout *Holland* and *Zeland*, to all the Abbots and Abbesses, Provosts, Deans, Priors and Prioreesses, and other Ecclesiastical Persons; to all Cloisters, Chapters, Churches, Chapels, Hospitals and Alms-houses, and commanded, that they should return an Account in Writing of all their Goods, Lands, Rents, Tythes, Rights and Privileges which they had been possess'd of in sixty Years last past; and to deliver the same to such as he should impower to demand it of them. Some obey'd, but the most part refused, and held a General Diet on the 5th of *January* of the following Year, in the Monastery of *St. Jerome* near *Leyden*, where it was unanimously concluded neither to pay nor consent to any Taxations. Measures were taken to compel them. They appeal'd to the Parliament of *Mecklen*, or, if that were not allow'd, to the Pope. To induce them to submit the Clergy of *Brabant* were brought to pay by *Namptization* or Free Gift; those of *Zeland* were for the most part drawn in likewise. But they of *Holland* having bound themselves by mutual Promises, would not lend an Ear thereto. For which Cause they were first summon'd by

Maste

Master Anthony Hanneron the Dean of St. Dona-  
at Bruges (whom the Duke had sent to demand  
the Tax) to the *Hague*, and afterwards to *Woer-*  
*den*. They appear'd at the *Hague*, but would  
agree to nothing: They deliver'd also in writing,  
the Reasons of their Refusal, supported with in-  
numerable Arguments drawn from the Canon  
and Civil Law. But upon their declining to  
appear at *Woerden*, for fear of being stopt in the  
Castle, and only sending a Letter, Hanneron  
cited them before <sup>1</sup> Bishop David of *Utrecht*,  
who was Bastard-Brother of Duke Charles, at  
*Wiik-te-Duurstede*, in order to awe them by the  
Episcopal Authority. The Reasons of both Par-  
ties were there heard, but nothing prevail'd:  
Whereupon Arthur of Bourbon, the Pope's  
Protonotary and Pastor of *Gouda*, who was come  
to second the Dean Hanneron, spake thus to the  
Clergy:

<sup>2</sup> Gentlemen, I would not have you be angry  
at, or suspect Master Anthony, for he does much  
less than he is commanded. For I am afraid,  
that in case you do not hearken to him, there  
will be sent into this Country, Officers or Exe-  
cutioners, who will make no Difference between  
the Church and the Stable, between the Chalice  
and the Pot, the Pattin and the Platter; for so  
alas! has it happen'd in Flanders. Hanneron  
added; Nor Egg, nor Apple, nor Privilege, nor  
Nemptization, neither will the Pope or Emperor  
be able to assist you.

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The

<sup>1</sup> Hed. Hist. p. 291. Chron.  
of Holland, Ch. XXIV. Bat.  
Arcad. p. 362, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Chronic. of Holland, pag.  
401.



The Deputies of the Clergy made Answer That they were not instructed to say any thing to it. After this they were again cited to *Schoonhoven*, whither they likewise sent a Paper, in which they plainly signified, that they would give nothing. Then were they call'd before the Parliament of *Mecklen*, but they refused also to appear there, sending Letters which imported that they could not, without violating their Consciences, submit their Estates to this Burthen; that neither the Emperor, nor any other Prince or worldly Potentate have any Right to tax them without the Consent of the Pope, to whom they moreover appeal'd. Hereupon *John de Leeuw* a Counsellor of the Parliament, was sent into *Holland*. For which reason several Priors and other Ecclesiastical persons fled; three were apprehended, and six were again cited to *Mecklen* and *de Leeuw* notified to them the following Sentence: *All those Church-men that writ last to the Parliament, have forfeited Life and Goods forasmuch as they have despised and dishonoured the Parliament by appealing to the Court of Rome and by putting the word GREETING at the Head of their Letter, it not being lawful for Subjects to use such an Expression to their Sovereigns; and therefore, it was a Token of Disobedience.* At *Delf* he obliged the Abbess of the Nunnery of *St. Agatha* to surrender all the Writings and Deeds of the Houses: And, the more to terrifie the rest of the Clergy, those that had been seiz'd, were carried privately to *Mecklen*, whither he likewise cited others

Whereupon they pray'd for, and obtain'd some Delay; and in the mean while Bishop *David* prevail'd so far with them, as to induce them to recede from their Appeal to the Pope. But that this Delay was no Discharge, they found by the coming of *John van Bosbuisen* the Duke's Chamberlain. This Gentleman being a Soldier and a Knight, was surnamed the *White Hawk*: He summon'd them all to the *Hague* in *Lent*, 1476; where he hector'd and thunder'd at them most terribly: *Let the Clergy of Holland*, cry'd he, *take care what they do in these Matters, of which they have had time enough to consider; for I have now Authority, as well as Courage and Inclination, to seize and imprison all such as shall refuse to pay the Tax; and don't fancy that any one of you all shall stand out against the Duke, and shelter your selves behind I know not what Rights and Privileges; for there is neither Wisdom nor Power against him; for depend upon it, I shall not scruple to make use of that Authority wherewith he has intrusted me, to compel you hereto, by such Ways and Means as you have never yet seen or heard of.* At the same time he acquainted them with the Methods he had used other times against the Clergy in many places, including; *None of you that are Refractory shall fare any better.*

These Threats induced the Clergy of the *Hague* and *Delf*, and the Dependencies thereof, to consent to the Tax, and the three that had been imprison'd were discharg'd. Afterwards

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<sup>1</sup> Chron. of Holland, p. 462.

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the same Tax was agreed to by sundry others of the Clergy, on Condition that it might be paid at twice; one Half on St. *John's* Day in Summer, and t'other in Winter about *Christmas*. However, many of the Clergy about *Leyden*, *Harlem*, *Amsterdam*, and in *West-Friesland*, held out a while, and some to the very last. Some of those that had stipulated as above, made their first Payments, to which, that he might compel the rest, *Bosbuisen* was obliged to drive the Cattle of the Monks at *Lopsen*, near *Leyden* out of their Meadows; and likewise laid his Hands upon other Goods of their Monastery and sold them openly, to raise the Tax. For which purpose he broke open the Gates and Doors of the Regular Clergy at *Leyderdorp*.<sup>1</sup> It is related of him, that at a certain time having seized upon the Silver Vessels, and other Consecrated things of Value, in a certain Cloister of Regulars, he spake thus to the Monks *I do this by Order of my Lord*; and, pointing to a Crucifix that hung against the Wall, he added: *There is your Lord too, let him help you on this Occasion.*

Being thus prest, the most part of the Clergy found it necessary to come to an Agreement with the Tax-Gatherers. They promised to answer all that was demanded of them, at two Payments; the first at *Michaelmas*, and the second at *Christmas*. Yet the Money was not ready at the last Term of Payment. The Receivers gave them

<sup>1</sup> Heid. Hist. p. 293.

them Time till <sup>1</sup> Twelfth-tide; but before any thing was done against those that were in Arrear, the News came of the Defeat and Death of the Duke, which put a total Stop to this Tax. The Clergy called it an introducing of Sacrilege, and complained of the Force and Violence used against them on this Occasion. Others were of Opinion, that this their Opposition favour'd of Sedition and Rebellion, forasmuch as the Government and Country could not be defended without War, nor War supported without an Army, nor an Army without Taxes. Now 'tis not from the Poor, but from the Rich that Taxes are to be raised, and consequently from the Churchmen, who in those Times were the richest of all, and therefore did very unreasonably, and with an ill Grace, plead those Laws, which only freed them from Burdens during their Poverty. But now the Times were well amended with them. This was likewise the Sense of the Court of *Holland* on another Occasion, with respect to the five Cloisters of *Hoorn*: *That since they were likewise defended by the Arms of the Community, it was but just they should bear their Quota in the Burden and Expences thereof.* These things affected the Goods of the Church, and that which follows, the Doctrine.

There flourished about this time one Doctor *Jessel Hermanson Grandsfort* of *Groningben*,

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who

<sup>1</sup> It is called *Thirteen-tide* in the Original. See *Scriv. Old* *Stat.* p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> The 5th of Jan. ib. p. 412, &c. *Chron. of Holl.* Chap. 92.  
<sup>3</sup> *Vellii's Chron. of Holl.* p. 123.



who by reason of his great Knowledge in the three learned Languages, and Skill in Human and Divine Sciences, did so far exceed others in those ignorant Ages, as to merit the Title of *Lux Mundi*. He was very zealous in promoting the *Hebrew Language*:<sup>1</sup> For which purpose having made a Journey to *Rome*, he was so acceptable to Pope *Nicholas*, that he offered him great Presents and Employments to stay there; but the said Doctor refusing all, made this only Request to his Holiness, That he might be allowed to take out of the *Vatican Library*, and carry along with him to *Holland*, a certain Manuscript *Hebrew Bible*. The Opposition he made afterwards to the Abuses of the Papacy, procured him the Name of *Magister Contradictionum*.<sup>2</sup> He spoke and writ against the Mass, Indulgences, Praying for the Dead, and the Supremacy of the Pope. He maintained, that Popes might err, and that when they did err, they ought to be opposed: That their Decrees did not bind otherwise, nor farther than as they were consistent with the Word of God: That the Pope could not command any thing upon pain of Deadly Sin, unless God had commanded the same before: That People ought to value more the Opinion, yea, even the Excommunication of a good Man, than of the Pope himself.

<sup>1</sup> Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. Chemnit. Ex. Con. Trid. p. 74.  
 349. Pont. Hist. Amst. p. 236. Ge-  
<sup>2</sup> Cat. Test. Ver. p. 885. ner. Bibliot. 628. Val. And.  
 Vign. 619. Morn. f. 620. ib. p. 750. Bert. de Un-  
 Ubb. Emm. Hist. Fris. p. 456. Germ. 137.

formerly many had more regard for <sup>1</sup> St. Bernard, than for Pope *Eugenius*; and <sup>2</sup> as the Council of *Constance* had for *John Gerson*, rather than for Pope *John XXIII.* That the Hearers could and ought to judge of the Doctrine of their Teachers, and should not take every thing from them so implicitly and upon Trust, without discernment; and that the Faithful were not bound to believe what is not contained in the Rule of Faith. This he maintained as a Fundamental of Religion. He spake of the Mass, as of a bare Communion. As for Indulgences, he thought, that our Sins being forgiven, the Punishment of them was remitted at the same time; and that the Holy Spirit of God had established by *Peter* the only effectual Bull of Indulgence, whereby the Entrance into God's Kingdom is so clearly manifested in the second

epistle of that Apostle: *Add to* Ch. I. Ver. 5, &c.  
*our Faith, Virtue; and to Vir-*

*ue, Knowledge; and to Knowledge, Tempe-*  
*rance; and to Temperance, Patience; and to*  
*patience, Godliness; and to Godliness, Brotherly*  
*Kindness; and to Brotherly Kindness, Charity.*

*For if these things be in you, an Entrance shall*  
*be ministred unto you abundantly, into the ever-*  
*lasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus*  
*Christ.* He was likewise of Opinion, that the

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Weak,

<sup>1</sup> Cat. Test. Verit. p. 438.  
Iorn. 313, &c. Vign. 367,  
c. M. A. de Dom. de Rep.  
eccl. p. 273, &c. Hist. Eccl.  
Magd. Col. 1632, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Cat. Test. p. 804. Gesn.  
Bibl. p. 420. Ind. Chron. Bu-  
chaceri, p. 382. M. A. de  
Dom. ib. p. 621. Erasmi. Epist.  
p. 1154.

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Weak, who could not live chaste without Marriage, might break that Vow.

These free Speeches, and his great Talents awakened the Hatred and Envy of the Clergy against him: They obliged him to quit the University of *Paris*, where he had taught some time, and to betake himself to the Practice of Physick. They took a deal of pains to make an Heretick of him. Master *Engelbrecht* of *Leyden*, and *Jacob Hoek*, Dean of *Naldwiik*, disputed against him upon the Doctrines of Purgatory, Indulgences, &c. He had Notice given him in the Year 1497, that the Inquisitor (<sup>1</sup> who had caus'd his Friend Dr. *John Van Wesel* to be burnt at *Mentz*, for preaching against the Papacy) aim'd at his Life, intending to steer his Course this Way, in order to examine him and bring him before the Ecclesiastical Tribunal. However, by God's wonderful Providence, he surmounted the Danger. Some think, that being affrighted by the Footsteps of his said Friend who, as he thought, had too rashly and unseasonably attack'd the Clergy and their Errors from the Pulpit, he grew more moderate, and acted with greater Caution afterwards. <sup>2</sup> Erasmus also declares of him, for his Honour, that he propos'd his Doctrine with a more Christian Temper than *Luther* did his afterwards. <sup>3</sup> He said, when he was grown very old, to *John*

*Ostendorp*

<sup>1</sup> Cat. Test. Ver. p. 884. | <sup>2</sup> Tom. IX. p. 1332. Epistol. Vign. p. 616. Morn. f. 619, | p. 2134. d. &c. Hist. Mart. f. 81. Chemnit. Conc. Trid. p. 742. Gesn. | <sup>3</sup> Cat. Test. p. 887. Morn. Bib. 462. | f. 624. b.

*Ostendorp*, since one of the Canons of *St. Levis*'s Church at *Deventer*, *You diligent young Man, you shall live to see the Day, when the Doctrines of these disputing Doctors, 1 Thomas, 2 Bonaventura, and others of the same sort, shall be exploded by all truly Christian Divines.*

To this good old Man, who died at *Groningen* in the Year 1489, we shall add 3 the Learned *Rudolphus Agricola*, his famous Contemporary, worthy Countryman, and familiar Friend. *Josquiu van Groningen* used to say, (4 according to *Melancthon*) that when he was a young Lad, he had seen those two Friends together, sighing and lamenting over the Corruptions of the Church. He heard them also declaiming against the Desecration of the Eucharist in the Mass, the Celibacy of Priests, the extolling Human Works and Traditions. 5 Nevertheless, *Agricola* was interr'd in a Frier's Habit; whether it was that he had desir'd the same by his last Will and Testament, or whether those who had the Care of his Funeral, clad him as they thought fit. He died at *Heidelberg*, the 28th of *October*, in the Year 1485, and in the Forty second of his Age.

Among

1 Thomas Aquinas. Vid. Bellarm. de Script. Eccles. p. 200. Gesn. Bibl. p. 615. Vign. p. 491, &c. Hist. Eccl. Magd. Col. 1193. Erasmi. Epist. p. 706. Sleid. Lib. VII.	pist. 1985. Ubb. Emm. 457. Bert. de Urb. Germ. p. 236. Val. Andr. 704.
2 Bel. ib. 148. Hist. Magd. 201. Vign. ib. 491, &c.	4 In Orat. de Vita R. Agric. Cat. Test. 888. Morn. f. 120.
3 Erasmi. Adag. p. 145. E-	5 Val. Andr. ibid. p. 704. Bert. ib. p. 137. See about this Superstition, Erasmi. Colloq. de Exeq. Seraph.



Among *Wessel's* Friends is likewise counted <sup>1</sup> *John of Amsterdam*, his grateful Disciple, who vindicated his Master after his Death, by a long Letter, on account of his Dispute with Master *Engelbrecht* of *Leyden*, about the Doctrines of Purgatory, Indulgences, and the like.

About the same time *John van Goch*, surnamed *Pupper*, a Priest, and Superiour of the Nunnery of *Thabor* at *Mecklen*, preach'd against the Doctrines of the Papacy. He lived, as <sup>2</sup> *Valerius Andreas* a Popish Writer affirms, with *Wessel* of *Groningen*, and entertained the same Opinions, as his Writings testifie. He had the Courage to assert, that <sup>3</sup> the Writings of *Thomas*, <sup>4</sup> *Albertus*, and other School-men, did more obscure and perplex, than enlighten the Truth: That we ought to follow only the Holy Scriptures, and to make them the Touchstone of all other Writers, not even excepting the Decrees of Popes and Councils. The Performance of Things unrequired, were rejected by him, as unprofitable to Godliness, and inconsistent with Christian Liberty. He condemned the chimerical Doctrine of *Supererrogation*. He complained that Christianity was degenerated into Judaism and Pharisaism. He maintained, that we are only justify'd by Faith and the Merits of Christ; but he subjoin'd, that Godly Men did really

<sup>1</sup> Pont. Hist. p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> In Bib. Belg. p. 490.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. Test. 887. Vign. p. 613. Morn. f. 520.

<sup>4</sup> *Albertus Magnus, the Master of Thomas Aquinas.* Vid.

*Bellarmin. de Script. Eccl. p. 198. Gesn. Bib. p. 18. Vign. p. 495. &c. Cat. Test. p. 663. Hofpin. de Templ. Lib. III. Cap. V. Magd. Cent. Col. 1071.*

really and actually continue in Sin, but that it was not imputed to them, but forgiven for Christ's sake. This was going too far, as some thought, if he understood those Sins in which Men wilfully persisted, and not those Infirmities against which they daily strove. <sup>1</sup> There are but few of his Writings published, and those maim'd and imperfect. <sup>2</sup> However, all of them, as well as the Books of *Wessel*, have been since prohibited by the Council of *Trent*.

There was likewise at *Groningen* in the same Time, a very old Frier <sup>3</sup> named *Tileman*, who made answer to a certain Burgher, *John Ludeck*, that complained to him in Confession, that his Mind had been perplexed with I know not what Human Inventions: *That a great deal might be said upon that Head, but no body durst do it, for those who spake Truth, ran great Risques; yet however he was of the following Opinion concerning the same, to wit, That Christ died for us, and is our only Saviour, on whom we are to rely; That all other Matters, as Indulgences and the like, are nothing but pure Fiction and Banter, and therefore not to be regarded.*

<sup>4</sup> The untimely Death of Princess *Mary* of *Burgundy*, only Daughter of *Charles the Bold*, married to *Maximilian* of *Austria*, <sup>5</sup> afterwards Emperor of *Germany*, and the Minority of their Son

<sup>1</sup> Cat. Test. ib. Gefn. ib.

<sup>2</sup> Val. And. ib. p. 490, 750.

<sup>3</sup> They were also forbid before in several Placard-Books. Vid. that

<sup>4</sup> Flanders, p. 108, 141, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Univ. p. 1032.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. Test. 903.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. of Holl. Chap. XLI.

Old. Bat. 423. Bat. Arcad.

905.

<sup>5</sup> Carion. 688. Boxh. Hist.

Son *Philip*, brought the *Low-Countries* under the Regency of the said *Maximilian*, in the Year 1483. During his Government, <sup>1</sup> the *Franciscan* Friars of *Bruges* were expelled their Monastery on account of the horrible Sin of Sodomy.

In the Year 1486, there was a Placard issued in the Name of *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, and *Philip*, Archduke of *Austria*, bearing Date the 24th of *August* at *Bruges*; <sup>2</sup> whereby all Persons, both of the Clergy and Laity were strictly prohibited to go to Law, whether about Ecclesiastical or Temporal Matters, before the Spiritual Judges of the Bishops Courts at *Terouanne*, *Cambray* and *Utrecht*; and wherein it was further declared, That of Right they had no manner of Jurisdiction in Temporal Matters, nor, on account of the Non-appearance of Persons that were summon'd or cited before them, to proceed against them by Excommunication, or other Censures, to the utter Ruin and Destruction of the Subject. By which means some have been forced to come to a prejudicial Agreement with their Adversaries, that they might avoid the Trouble and Charge of travelling or sending to the said Courts, some of which were six, eight, ten, or more Leagues out of *Flanders*: some also, being unable to give Satisfaction, have died Excommunicate, to the great Danger of their Souls. They therefore that cited any one before other than the usual Tribunal, for Civil Matters, should for each such Offence forfeit

<sup>1</sup> Hooft. Ned. Hist. p. 969. <sup>2</sup> Placard Book of Fland. p. 48, 49

the value of sixty Pounds, or *Liures* of *Paris*, in *Flemish* Money.

Count *Engelbrecht* of *Nassaw*, who acted as Stadtholder-General of the King, and of his Son the Arch-Duke, did likewise in the Year 1493, by a Placard, forbid the People of *Flanders* to receive or execute any Briefs, Mandates, Provisions, Bulls or Commissions, that were sent from any Foreign parts, without Letters of Permission of his Majesty, or of the Council of *Flanders*; in order to prevent the Subjects from being call'd in the first Instance, to any Courts of Justice out of their own Country.

The Year after, *Maximilian* put his Son *Philip*, then sixteen Years old, in possession of the *Low-Countries*, which he had govern'd since the Death of his Wife, and departed to *Germany*.

*Philip* married in the same Year *Joan* of *Aragon*, the second Daughter of *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*,<sup>2</sup> who afterwards, by the Death of her only Brother, Sister and Mother, added *Castile* and other Kingdoms to the *Netherlands*, out to its greatest Prejudice; for the Union of both these Nations, so unlike in Manners, Designs and Power, tended to great Divisions, and produced afterwards that long War with *Spain*, that lasted eighty Years, and had like to have ruin'd these Countries.

In the Year 1497, there was another Placard issued in the Name of *Philip*, whereby the People of *Flanders* were prohibited to execute any Bulls

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<sup>1</sup> Chron. of Holl. p. 447. <sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 454, &c. Bat. Arcad. p. 907.



Bulls or Provisions of the Court of Rome, of what Nature soever, without Leave of the Sovereign, nor to sue in the said Court, &c.

In the same Year the Arch-Duke granted to the Town of *Hoorn* a Privilege of restraining their Regular Clergy from purchasing any Lands within a Mile of the said Town : \* For the Monks of *Hoorn* had possess'd themselves by Gifts, Legacies, or Purchase, of near half the Lands belonging to that place ; besides what belonged to the Clergy of other parts ; as appears by the Registers.

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\* Velij Chron. of *Hoorn*, p. 91.

*The E N D of the First Book.*





*Gerrard Brandt's*

HISTORY  
OF THE  
REFORMATION  
And other Ecclesiastical EVENTS  
IN THE  
LOW-COUNTRIES.

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BOOK II.

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THE Year One Thousand Five Hundred, or the Beginning of the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, soon saw great Alterations in the Business of Religion. *Charles*, the Heir of these Provinces, born the 4<sup>th</sup> of *February*, in the Year above-mention'd, to whom the *Low-Country* Abbots made a present of a fine Bible, with this Inscription;  
SEARCH

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<sup>2</sup> Buchel. in Indice Chron. p. 449.

SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES, upon the Day of his Baptism, at the same time as his Father *Philip* and others gave him likewise Gifts. This Prince, I say, lived at that happy Crisis, in which many were enlighten'd with the Knowledge of that sacred Book.

The Papacy, which was now chiefly supported by Monkery, as Monkery itself was propagated by dull and stupid Ignorance as well as by arbitrary Power, began to feel more violent Shocks than formerly, through the Writings of several Learned Men, which were publish'd in the World by the new Art of Printing, and swarm'd in great Numbers: For whatever appear'd in favour of Learning or Piety, was diametrically opposite to Monkery, which bore a greater Hatred to Letters and Sciences than to Witchcraft and Heresie.

In every part of Christendom there now arose Men of Knowledge and Judgment, who with their Tongues and Pens made War against Papal Corruptions, and prepared the Way for a greater Reformation. The principal Persons who now set their Hands to this Work were <sup>2</sup> *John Francis Picus Mirandula*, and <sup>3</sup> *Baptista Mantuanus* Prior of the *Carmelites* in *Italy*. In *France* were <sup>4</sup> *James Almain*, <sup>5</sup> *Johannes Major*, <sup>6</sup> *James Faber of Stapel*, and <sup>7</sup> *Budaus*. In *Germany* <sup>8</sup> *Bernard van Lublin*, <sup>9</sup> *Sebastian Brandt*, <sup>10</sup> *Ludolph Castrick*, <sup>11</sup> and *Conrad Celtes*. In *Holland*

<sup>2</sup> *Erasmi. Epist. p. 78.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cat. Test. 893. Morn. f. 642. Vign. p. 622.*

<sup>4</sup> *Morn. 644. Cat. Test. 894.*

<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> *Test. 891. ad 910. Vign. 60. &c. Morn. 637, &c. Erasmi. Epist. 132.*

buy or sell, to keep, read, write, or print, or to maintain and defend any of the Books, Writings, or Opinions of the said Luther, whether in Outlandish, Latin, or Flemish Tongue; as well those that are condemned by our Holy Father the Pope, as any other already composed, or that may hereafter be composed by the said Luther, his Disciples or Favourers, in what manner and kind soever; even tho' it should happen, that in the said Books there might be contained or interspersed any Good and Christian Doctrines, the better to impose on simple People. Our Will and Pleasure therefore is, That all the said Books shall be accounted every where, and universally forbidden, and as such, burnt and entirely destroy'd: In doing which, besides the righteous Execution of the Sentence of the Papal Chair, we follow the laudable Ordinances and Customs of the Primitive Good Christians, who caused to be burnt and destroy'd the Books of the Hereticks, such as the Ariarians, Priscillianists, Nestorians, Eutychians, and others; and the whole Contents of the aforesaid Books, as well the Good as the Bad of them; which was rightly and properly done: For if it be necessary to forbid the Use of that Food in which there is the smallest Mixture of Poison, or fear of the Danger of infecting our Bodies, much more ought we to reject those Doctrines (how good so ever they may be) in which the Venom of Error or Heresie lurketh; forasmuch, as under the Cloak of Charity, it corrupts all the Good, to the great Hazard of our Souls. And herewith all the Magistrates are straitly re-

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quired to be readily and faithfully aiding and assisting to the Pope's Nuncio's, or those that are commission'd by them, in burning the said Books, as often as they shall be call'd upon to do the same. It was moreover forbidden by the said Placard, to make, print, to buy, sell, or to have in one's Custody any satyrical Writings or Pictures, or such as contained any disrespectfull Expressions, or Errors against the Christian Faith, or Traditions and Customs of the Romish Church; or tending to lessen or defame the Pope, the Prelates of the Church, Temporal Princes, Universities or Schools — These Writings or Pictures are likewise to be burnt. Lastly, the Emperor commanded, declaring that it should have all the Force and Effect of an inviolable and perpetual Law; That, from thenceforwards, on the Forfeiture of Body and Goods, no Bookseller, Printer, or any other Person whatever, should presume to print, or cause to be printed, any Book or Writing in which mention is made of the Holy Scriptures, or any Interpretation thereof, tho' never so little, without Leave first obtained from the Ordinary of the place, or of those appointed by him for that purpose; together with the Advice and Consent of the Faculty of Divines of the nearest University, approving (under the Seal of the said University) all such Books and Writings — As for the Printing and Publishing all other kinds of Books, the Leave of the Temporal Magistrate must be first had, which was not to be given but by the Advice of the Ordinary of the place, or his Substitute. —

Offenders against the Premises to be guilty of the Crimen Læſæ Majestatis, or High Treason; to wit, all such as having had due Notice of this Ordinance shall be found Disobedient and Rebelious against the same; and every one is required to seize upon their Bodies and Goods actually and effectually, and to put in Execution against them all the Penalties directed both by the Ecclesiastical and Civil Constitutions.

That Capital Punishments were included, and intended in this *Placard*, Experience has but too sadly convinced us. The Promulgation of this *Placard*, which bears date the 8th of May, was a Violation of the Privileges of the Land: For whereas formerly the Old Counts of *Holland* never made any Laws of importance without Consent of the Nobility and Commons, the Emperor, by vertue of his own Authority only, made this *Placard* at *Worms*, without ever communicating so important a Matter to the States of the Land, otherwise than requiring them to promulgate the same; which no body durst oppose. The mention likewise in the *Placard* of proceeding by Examination of the Parties themselves, when Evidence against them was wanting, look'd like a Design of introducing the Spanish Inquisition.

3 And accordingly, in the Year 1522, the Emperor empower'd Master *Francis vander Hulst*, his Counsellor in *Brabant*, to make a strict En-

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quiry

<sup>1</sup> Grot. de Rep. Bat. 78. | Grot. ib. 87.

Hooft's Hist. XXVII. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Hooft's Hist. p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Vel. Chron. of Hoorn, 120.

quiry into Peoples Opinions and Belief in Religious Matters, throughout all the *Netherlands*; Notice whereof was publickly given at *Antwerp*, and elsewhere. <sup>1</sup> *Erasmus* stiles him in one of his Epistles, *a wonderful Enemy to Learning*; and <sup>2</sup> his Fellow-Commissioner, one *Nicolas van Egmont*, a *Carmelite Monk*, *a Mad-man with a Sword put into his Hand, and who hates me*, said he, *worse than he does Luther*. <sup>3</sup> These Faith-Enquirers first threw Men into Prison, and then consider'd what they should lay to their Charge. *Such Proceedings*, continues *Erasmus*, *were unknown to the Emperor, and yet it was very fitting he should have been appris'd of them*.

This Seed of the Inquisition soon brought forth Fruit. *Cornelius Grapheus*, alias *Schrijver*, of *Aelst*, and Secretary of the Town of *Antwerp*, a Man of uncommon Learning, a good Poet and a dear Friend of *Erasmus*, quickly tasted the Bitterness of this Weed. What befel him on account of a *Preface*, writ some Years before, and a Relation of the Cruelty of his Judges, who turn'd him out of his Employment, notwithstanding his modest Behaviour and Submission, may be seen in a certain Latin Letter which he writ from *Brussels*, then his Prison, to *John Caronde litus*, Archbishop of *Panormitan*, and Chancellor of the Court of *Brabant*. The said Letter, which fell into my Hands accidentally, and which describes the miserable State of those Times in such eloquent Terms, and sets it before our Eyes in so pathetical and moving a man-

<sup>1</sup> Epist. p. 1922, &c.<sup>2</sup> Ib. 1067.<sup>3</sup> Ib. 1922.

ner, will, I make no doubt, be read with as much Satisfaction by others, as it is here translated by me. He speaks therefore in the following Terms :

*All Health and Happiness to the Reverend and Worshipful Gentleman, the Bp. of Panormitan.*

“ I KNOW well, my much esteemed Father, that your Reverence will wonder, that I a mean and doubly miserable Man, unknown to you, dare apply my self to you by this Letter ; especially considering to what a degree of Honour you are exalted, and with what great and numerous Affairs you are compass’d, that, as one may well imagine, you are hardly able to give Audience to your nearest Friends. But the Necessity of my extream Misery, and your Condescension and Affability, the Fame of which reaches the most distant parts, have compell’d me even to become troublefome, by flying to you as a merciful Father, and to represent my unhappy Condition to you with Sighs and bitter Tears, beseeching you to have Compassion on me, presuming upon your Goodness, and knowing your Power, who as President in the Council of this Court, are able to assist me both with your Advice and Favour. So it is, that I, as you may possibly have heard before, from the Petition of my Wife, as well as from the Relation of others, being summon’d in the Name of the Emperor to appear before the Judges, immediately obey’d — and upon my Appearance



“ found my self heavily charg’d with the Lu-  
 “ theran Heresie. I had writ a *Preface* to a cer-  
 “ tain little Book of *John van Gooch*, entitled  
 “ *The Liberty of the Christian Religion*; the  
 “ same was printed long before the Emperor’s  
 “ *Placard* came out. In the said *Preface* I did,  
 “ more out of Imprudence than Malice or Litigi-  
 “ ousness, censure those who burden Christians  
 “ with any unnecessary Yokes; but I did it at a  
 “ time when such things were allow’d to be said  
 “ and writ, nay, when they were receiv’d every  
 “ where with much Applause. I am of a Tem-  
 “ per naturally inclined to undertake any thing.  
 “ What I writ somewhat rashly, was more for  
 “ the Exercise of my Mind, than to scandalize  
 “ or offend any body. Thus I learn’d of my  
 “ self Poetry, Musick, and the Art of Drawing,  
 “ or Painting. Thus I acquir’d some taste of  
 “ *Greek* and *Latin*. Thus was I desirous to  
 “ learn other Tongues that were subservient to  
 “ the Knowledge of Good and Liberal Sciences,  
 “ as far as my Time and Fortune would give  
 “ me leave. For this Cause have I travell’d in  
 “ a manner over all *Italy*, not without great  
 “ Pains, and sometimes great Poverty too. For  
 “ the same Reason have I bravely contemn’d all  
 “ Opportunities of heaping up Riches, always  
 “ contenting my self with the common Necessi-  
 “ taries of Life. Whatever Evil has been com-  
 “ mitted by me, is the Result of a Brain-sick  
 “ Understanding, but not a Malicious one. It  
 “ so be the Humane Mind, from a Desire of  
 “ enlarging it self, after what manner soever,  
 “ should

should wander out of its way, and yet without any evil Intentions, without Perverseness or Obstinacy, but nevertheless is ever disposed to be improved, corrected, and to submit it self to better Judgments; I say, if a Mind thus disposed, should be the Occasion of our Ruin, how much better were it, that we should be brute Beasts or inanimate Creatures, than Men? Since Man cannot change his Nature, and if he be of an active and generous Soul, he must exert the Faculties thereof some way or other. If a Genius, which was neither wicked nor bitter, but always agreeable and lovely could not save *Ovid*, the sweetest of Poets, from a sad and everlasting Banishment into *Pontus*, it had been better for him, that instead of singing of Love and Pleasure, he had spent his Days far from the Sight and Company of Men in Desert-places, and like *Timon of Athens*, become a second Man-hater. In case an Understanding, neither obstinate nor perverse, but always disposed to amend it self upon every the least Admonition, has embark'd me in these Troubles, which overwhelm me on all sides, how much more advantageous had it been to me to have been depriv'd of my Senses, or to have been a Fool, or Buffoon, or a Comedian, or a Parasite and Flatterer, or any such kind of sorry Fellow, rather than to raise my self by my Understanding, such as it is, to Posts of the highest Honour or Profit? For those People are allow'd every where, openly, and without any

“ Punishment, to publish, vend and act their  
 “ Fables, Tragedies, Comedies, Farces and Sa-  
 “ tires, let ’em be as salt or as sharp, and as  
 “ biting, let ’em be as obscene, filthy and ro-  
 “ guish as possible; and the People shall receive  
 “ them all with Approbation. Certainly then  
 “ a good Genius, especially such as is tractable,  
 “ and ready to listen to good Advice, ought not  
 “ to be immediately oppress’d, but handled  
 “ gently; not driven out with Force and Seve-  
 “ rity, but allured with Rewards and Promises,  
 “ and help’d forwards by all Ways and Methods,  
 “ even tho’ it should chance to have done amiss  
 “ through Ignorance or Imprudence, which is  
 “ the Consequence of Humane Frailties. After  
 “ that my *Preface* to the said *Gooch’s* Book had  
 “ been examined by Commissioners, from Point  
 “ to Point, and I know not how many Inferences  
 “ drawn from thence, and turn’d into Articles  
 “ against me, I did immediately, as one better  
 “ inform’d, acknowledge my Indiscretion, and  
 “ testify my Sorrow; and was ready to retract  
 “ my Errors, to detest my Obstinacy, and to  
 “ ask Pardon for my Rashness; when behold  
 “ all on a sudden, I was thrust into a Dungeon  
 “ like a Heretick; whereas, according to all  
 “ Laws both Humane and Divine, no Man, tho’  
 “ guilty of notorious Errors, ought to be deem’d  
 “ a Heretick, until, as the Gospel directs, he  
 “ has been first privately and christianly admo-  
 “ nish’d, and afterwards, being reproved in the  
 “ presence of two or three Witnesses, he conti-  
 “ nues obstinate in known Errors, or relapses  
 “ into

“ into his former heretical Notions ; neither of  
 “ which is my Case : Neither have I ever been,  
 “ according to *Christ's* and *St. Paul's* Command,  
 “ admonish'd privately ; yea, when I confessed  
 “ my Fault before the Commissioners, and after-  
 “ wards was carried to Prison, without hearing  
 “ any Sentence, though I was call'd up to the  
 “ Court for that purpose, I was brought like an  
 “ obstinate Heretick to the open Market, and set  
 “ upon a Scaffold ; where, in the presence of the  
 “ said Commissioners, and a vast number of Peo-  
 “ ple of all sorts, I was order'd to retract all the  
 “ Articles they had drawn out of my *Preface*,  
 “ and obliged to throw my said *Preface* into the  
 “ Fire. And then only, that is to say, after  
 “ such publick Retracting, and after the Burn-  
 “ ing of the aforesaid *Preface*, was there pro-  
 “ nounced against the Recanting Person, after  
 “ testifying his Sorrow for what he had writ,  
 “ the following Sentence : *First*, That all my  
 “ Goods, moveable or immoveable, were con-  
 “ fiscated ; (my Moveables indeed are few, for  
 “ excepting my Talents, such as they be, I am  
 “ possess'd of nothing.) *Secondly*, That I had  
 “ forfeited my Employment, and was for ever  
 “ incapable of any other. *Thirdly*, That I should  
 “ make the like Recantation at *Antwerp*. *Fourth-*  
 “ *ly*, That I should be carried from thence to  
 “ *Brussels*, and confined to a close Prison for the  
 “ space of two Months ; all which I have under-  
 “ gone with Patience and Courage. *Fifthly*,  
 “ That after those two Months, like another  
 “ *Shimei*, I should be banish'd to the outmost  
 “ Walls



“ Walls of the Town of *Brussels*, and remain there  
 “ a Prisoner all the Days of my Life. *Lastly*,  
 “ I find my self obliged, like a *Jew*, or *Turk*,  
 “ or *Heathen*, or I know not what besides (for  
 “ Heretick I am not, since having possibly of-  
 “ fended out of Imprudence and Temerity, I did  
 “ not persevere therein, but manifested my Sor-  
 “ row upon the first Admonition) I say, I find  
 “ my self compell’d to receive a certain Mark  
 “ of intolerable Contumely, unworthy of a Chri-  
 “ stian Man descended of an honest and modest  
 “ Stock, and not of the Dregs of the People.  
 “ Hitherto then have I fulfilled with incredible  
 “ Patience, every point and part of my Sentence.  
 “ But who is there, that does not see, that it is  
 “ not longer to be endured? I am loaden with  
 “ a mighty Burden of Wife and Children; I am  
 “ stript of all my Goods; and if there be any  
 “ thing remaining to me, unhappy Man! I am  
 “ likewise deprived of that, I mean my Industry.  
 “ All that I had, has been spent here by me,  
 “ and at *Antwerp*, by my Wife and Children,  
 “ who are now ready to perish with Want. My  
 “ Creditors teaze me for what I owe them, but  
 “ I have nothing to answer their Demands;  
 “ I have no Way of earning a Penny, but many of  
 “ spending. I am turn’d out of my House ever  
 “ since *Lent*, and parted from Wife and Chil-  
 “ dren. Our holy Matrimony is in effect dis-  
 “ solv’d, and those whom God has joyn’d, are  
 “ separated by Man. I am an Offence to all,  
 “ but chiefly to my poor Wife and Children.  
 “ Who shall feed me? Who shall feed them?

“ Who

" Who will supply us with the Means of  
 " Living for the future ? I have none my self  
 " now ; my Faculties and Talents are now of  
 " no longer use to me ; for who will employ  
 " so Ignominious a Person ? If I should bring  
 " my sorrowful Spouse, with my miserable  
 " Children from *Antwerp*, who will receive  
 " 'em into their Houses ? Or who will put  
 " these unknown and despised Creatures in a  
 " Way of earning their Bread ? And if I leave  
 " them there, what will they do without Hus-  
 " band, without Father ; especially since the  
 " Children are some of 'em so little, that they  
 " can hardly speak ? Wherefore it only remains  
 " that the Husband should be restored to his  
 " Wife, the Father to his Children ; or that  
 " they beg from Door to Door ; or lastly,  
 " that they lay violent Hands on themselves :  
 " For it is much better, and more desirable for  
 " such miserable Wretches to die any kind of  
 " Death, than to live with Shame in the utmost  
 " Distress. My dejected Wife petitioned time  
 " after time (as I doubt not but your Reverence  
 " knows) that her Husband being restored to  
 " his former good Name and Honour, might  
 " have the whole Town of *Antwerp*, in-  
 " stead of *Brussels*, for his Prison. This Peti-  
 " tion was sent by the Council, together with  
 " a Letter to Master *Francis van Hulst*, that  
 " they might know his Opinion thereupon.  
 " But that Gentleman has delay'd giving it, to  
 " my great Prejudice, even until now, often  
 " using several Evasions when call'd upon to do  
 " it.

“ it. We daily beg and intreat, without ad-  
 “ vancing, without prevailing on him, altho  
 “ he, calling God to witness, has so often pro-  
 “ mised and assured us of his Mercy and Favour  
 “ But what signify these Assurances of Mercy  
 “ when he will not do so small a Thing as we  
 “ have requested of him? to wit, the giving  
 “ his Opinion. But he cries, ’tis not yet rea-  
 “ sonable. When will it be then? For at this  
 “ rate he may put us off for seven Years toge-  
 “ ther. He says, that new Errors start up  
 “ every where; but what is that to us? I  
 “ there be several others, who having neither  
 “ Wife nor Children, that is to say, are not  
 “ loaden with such miserable Burthens as I am  
 “ are yet discharg’d, after having shewn their  
 “ Repentance for the like Crimes; Why am I  
 “ alone so cruelly distinguished? Why am I  
 “ alone unreleased? I, who according to com-  
 “ mon Right ought to be released and restored  
 “ for, as your Reverence knows, it is ordained  
 “ by the Holy Canons, and confirmed by the  
 “ Doctors, as it likewise agrees with Christian  
 “ Forbearance and the Spirit of the Gospel,  
 “ that Condemnation shall not be pronounced  
 “ against a fallen Penitent, and that where it is  
 “ already pronounced, it shall be of no Effect  
 “ and moreover, that the Penitent shall be re-  
 “ stored. But if Mr. *Vander Hulst* has no  
 “ Power to determine any thing in relation to  
 “ me, without Knowledge of the Emperor  
 “ why then does he protract his Answer to the  
 “ Letter of the Council, and the Petition from  
 “ my

my Wife ? Why did he, when my Wife deliver'd him the said Letter, promise to return his Opinion within ten Days ? Why were the imprison'd Monks of *St. Austin*, and several others, after having recanted, deliver'd by his Advice ? Why should he not help me with his Advice, since it was by his Advice that such a Sentence has been pronounced against me, as it plainly appears from the Contents thereof ? And when will it ever be more seasonable to help me, than now that the *Austin Monks*, the Occasion of these Troubles, are driven out of *Antwerp* ? Certainly it can't be thought, that the Council in which you preside, should ever have required his Advice, if that same Council, according to its wonted Discretion, had not known before-hand, what Power he had in these Matters. But perhaps he defers giving his Advice, that he may weigh the Matter more maturely. He has fed us poor Wretches now almost these three Months with doubtful Hopes : If three Months were not sufficient for such a Business, when will he come to a final Resolution upon it ? If he be in Travail so long, when will he be delivered, when will he bring forth the Fruit of his Opinion ? In truth, this Delay is not more grievous to me and my poor Wife, than it is suspected by us. For if his Advice be equitable, and such as may be born, he then wrongs us in having so long delayed doing us Right ; but if it prove hard and unreasonable, then will it be extreamly grievous, to have  
 “ expected



" expected with so much Patience so unjust  
 " Sentence. But what occasion is there at all  
 " for his Opinion? Since the Sentence has been  
 " executed on me, in all its Points and Parts  
 " And since my only Petition is, That I may  
 " have the Privilege of using my Understand-  
 " ing and Industry, or at least to live with my  
 " Family in a more enlarged Prison, a Favour  
 " which the Council may grant without Advice  
 " For which Cause we most humbly beseech  
 " and conjure you, for Christ's sake (who is the  
 " Protector, and Avenger too, of those that trust  
 " in him) to take Compassion on the miserable  
 " and disconsolate Condition of me, my Wife  
 " and my doubly unhappy Children; and that  
 " by your means, that most Illustrious and most  
 " Gracious Princess the Regent, together with  
 " the Council, may vouchsafe to require Ma-  
 " ster *Vander Hulst* at last, and without further  
 " Delay or Subterfuge, to communicate his O-  
 " pinion: And if he should scruple to do it, or  
 " if he should determine any thing inconsistent  
 " with our reasonable Petition, that then, mak-  
 " ing use of that Authority, which the Empe-  
 " ror has devolved upon them, they would grant  
 " me this Favour; to wit, That I be restored  
 " to my ancient Name and Fame, and declared  
 " free from all Misdemeanors, and allow'd  
 " to have the Town of *Antwerp* for my Prison  
 " at large, and there (if I must not expect to be  
 " re-admitted to my Employments) be suffer'd  
 " to get my Bread for my self and distressed Fa-  
 " mily, among my Friends and Acquaintance,  
 " which

which I can do much more easily than at *Brussels*, or elsewhere among Strangers. — Nor will you, I hope, think this to be an undeserved Request, when you consider how great my Inclinations and Desires have been to serve the Emperor to the best of my power; for which purpose I send you some little Tracts which I had publish'd just before my Imprisonment, in Honour of his Majesty; such as, *A Welcome to Him from Spain; His Illustrious Pedigree*, and the like. — Help therefore, O ye Friends and Servants of the Emperor, a Person who has not been altogether useless to him.

*Dated from my Prison at Brussels, 18. Nov. 1522.*

*And Sign'd*

C. GRAPHEUS.

WHAT Effect this Letter produced, does not appear to me. <sup>1</sup> But among the Letters of *Grasmus* we meet with one writ about twelve years afterwards; in which he takes notice, that the Affairs of this *Grapheus* were in a better Condition. <sup>2</sup> And in another Letter, in which he acquaints *Conradus Godenius*, that he had made his last Will, he makes mention of his Friend in the following Words: *I bequeath Fifty Gold Florins and Forty Seven Rhenish Guilders to Cornelius Grapheus, who I think stands in need of them, and who deserves a better Fate.*

The

<sup>1</sup> Epist. 1952.

<sup>2</sup> Ejusd. Epist. Lond. Edit. Præf.

# 138 *The History of the Reformation*

The Friars of the Convent of St. *Austin* at *Antwerp* (mention'd in the Letter of the said *Græphæus*) fell into great Trouble about this Time. The whole Society had been suspected; the Writings of *Luther*, who was likewise an *Austin Monk*, had scatter'd his Notions among them; they laid hold on several of them, but Prior *Henry* of *Zutphen* escaped out of Prison. Some of them that were imprison'd recanted, but three remain'd steady, and were publickly stript of their Holy Orders, and declared Hereticks on a Scaffold at *Brussels* the First of July, 1523. Two of them, namely *Henry Voes* and *John Esch*, cheerfully underwent the Fiery Trial the same Day, testifying a wonderful Constancy. As they were leading to the Stake, they cry'd with a loud Voice, That they died as *Christians*; and when they were fastned to it, and the Fire was kindled, they rehearsed the Twelve Articles of the Creed, and next to that, the Hymn *Te Deum Laudamus*, which each of them sang Verse by Verse alternately, 'till the Flames deprived 'em both of Voice and Life.

It is related of one of these, that seeing the Fire kindled under his Feet, he said, *It seems as if they strew'd Roses in my Way.* <sup>2</sup> To avoid the Imputation of Cruelty, and at the same time to get Honour to the Popish Religion, some Monks spread the following Story among the Common People: That one of those who had been burnt

<sup>1</sup> *Erasmi. Epist. 1278. D. E.* | *of State of Religion in the Netherlands. p. 10, 11.*  
*Hist. des Martyrs, Liv. II.* | <sup>2</sup> *Erasmi. ib.*  
*p. 85. Wesenbeck's Descript.*

had appear'd to a certain *Austin Monk*, and told him, that his own and his Companion's Souls were in a State of Salvation, forasmuch as they had been converted just before they left the World, even in the midst of the Fire; and that this happen'd through the Intercession of the Blessed Virgin, for they were burnt the Day before her Visitation. But they who were nearest to the Fire, could witness quite contrary. <sup>1</sup> As for the third of these Heretical Monks, he was brought back to the Prison, and there privately dispatch'd. This was the first Blood that was shed in the *Low-Countries*, on account of Religion, since the Rise of *Luther*.

<sup>2</sup> *Erasmus*, in one of his Letters, describes the Consequence of this Persecution in the following manner: *Two were burnt at Brussels, from which time forwards Luther's Doctrine began to be in request in that Town.* *Lutheranism*, which at first lay in a very narrow compass, made the greater Progress by the Resistance it found both from Fire and Sword, and soon spread it self far and near, so as to become dreaded by the greatest Kings of the Earth; to stop which, the Church and State made use of very preposterous Methods: <sup>3</sup> *Causticks* and *Amputation* might possibly have been of use, if the Disease had been only in one Limb or Joint; but as it had infected the whole Body, and penetrated through all the inward Parts, softer Medicines were necessary, and such as might drive it out by degrees.

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*Erasmus*

<sup>1</sup> *Erasm. Epist.* 1278.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1076.

<sup>3</sup> *Erasm. Epist.* ad J. Bothem.  
| *ejusd.* op. præfix.



<sup>1</sup> *Erasmus* likewise says of this putting Hereticks to Death, That it was *the Work of Hangmen, and not of Divines.* And upon the Word

in the Gospel about pulling up the  
Mat. xiii. 29.

good Wheat, he writes thus : *He that destroys an evil thing, which might be made good, does, in some sense, destroy the good.*

Meaning was, that if Men proceeded in this present State of Affairs with shedding of Blood after such a manner, <sup>4</sup> it would be the ready way to dispatch many good and godly Men ; for the Event of the War, which he foresaw would be kindled by putting Hereticks to Death, was very uncertain. <sup>5</sup> In another place he writes, *The Ecclesiastical Excommunication was the greater Punishment which the ancient Bishops inflicted on Hereticks.* He seem'd also to be of Opinion that no other external Coercion ought to be used against those who separated from the Church but the Refusal of Communion, nor should they be debarr'd from hearing the Word of God and Preaching. That was an Excision which affected the Mind more than the Body.

<sup>6</sup> In the mean time *Adrian VI.* ascended the Papal Throne. He was born in the Year 1498 at *Utrecht*, of mean Parents ; his Father *Florinus* who lived by the Labour of his Hands, was a poor Schuit, or Boatwright, and was unable to

<sup>1</sup> Epist. p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> *Erasm.* op. Tom. IX. p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> D. V. Koornhert. III. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* Epist. 861.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* Tom. IX. p. 478, 863.

&c.

<sup>6</sup> Val. Andr. Bibliot. Belg.

p. 19. An. 1643. Beverwil.

Descript. of Dort, p. 329. Sleij.

Com. III. 48. Hist. Trid. p. 11.

Thuan. p. 37.

maintain him at School upon his own Charges. Wherefore he procured him to be sent to the University of *Louvain*, and educated there upon the publick Purse, or on God's Account, as we call it. His Industry, Good Life and Fortune brought him to this high State. He was first made Dean of *St. Peter's Church* at *Louvain*, and afterwards Canon and Provost at *Utrecht*. In the Year 1508, he was appointed Tutor to the young Prince *Charles* of *Austria*; being afterwards sent upon an Embassy to *Spain*, King *Ferdinand* gave him the Bishoprick of *Tortosa*, and after that King's Death he was made Regent of *Spain*. By the Favour of *Leo X.* he attain'd the Cardinal's Cap, and by the Disagreement of the Conclave, to the Triple-Crown. Upon his Exaltation to the Papacy the People of *Utrecht* and *Holland* shew'd great Tokens of Joy, and writ upon Tapestry Hangings, and on the Walls of their Houses, *Utrecht has planted, Louvain water'd, and the Emperor given the increase*: Under which an arch Fellow writ, *and has done nothing at all in this Matter*. But the new Pope understood it otherwise, as appears by the following Letter, which he writ to his friend *Floris Oom van Wiingaerden*, Pensioner, about this time, of the Town of *Dort*.

3. Master Doctor, and Dear Friend,

Every body is surpris'd and amaz'd, that a poor Man, unknown almost to all, being in manner out of the World, should by the unani-

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mous

<sup>1</sup> P. Jov. Vit. Adr. p. 100.  
<sup>2</sup> Manlius in loc. Com.

<sup>3</sup> Beverw. History of Dort, p. 329.

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in our Voice of the Cardinals, be called to the Vicegerency of Christ. But it is an easie thing for God to exalt the Poor in an Instant. I take no Pleasure in this Honour, and I tremble at the greatness of the Burden. I had much rather have continued to serve God in my own Provostship at Utrecht, without the Dignity either of Pope, Cardinal or Bishop; but I dare not withstand the Almighty calling me, trusting that He himself will strengthen my Weakness, and fully enable me to bear this Burden. I beseech you, pray to God for me; and by your godly Prayers prevail on him to teach me to perform his Commands, and make me worthy to build up his Church.

THIS Letter was writ at *Victoria* the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, 1522. He writ to the same purpose to the Emperor's Chancellor the same Day in which having first related how thick Compliments and Congratulations came upon him from all Parts of the World, he subjoyns; I am in manner overwhelmed with Sorrow; and, although that it were but lawful for me to cast off from my Shoulders this mighty Weight, which is at the same time so burdensome and dangerous, without fearing to displease my God; and rather to lead a poor and private Life in a Corner, where my own Soul would be my only Care, than to be bound to give an Account of the Souls of Mankind.

TO the Five Chapters of *Utrecht* he writ  
thus:

'TIS your Duty to pour out fervent Prayers  
to God, to the end, that He who has raised us  
from the Dust to the highest Dignity on Earth,  
would likewise vouchsafe to bestow upon us strength  
of Body and of Mind too, that we may discharge  
that Office faithfully and worthily.

HE found himself much perplex'd with the  
Differences in Religious Matters, that had risen  
in the Time of his Predecessors, being naturally  
of a mild and sweet Temper.

He exhorted *Erasmus* in a Letter dated the  
1<sup>st</sup> of November, 1522, to employ those admi-  
rable Talents which he had received from the  
Hand of God, to the Honour of the same God,  
as he had done hitherto. For which end he  
ought to write against *Luther*. And, so as he  
the Pope thought, many of those that had stray'd,  
might be brought into the right Way through  
the Grace of God; others, that had not yet fal-  
len, might be supported, and those that waver'd,  
be confirm'd. You must also, said he, reflect  
upon the Words of the Holy Apostle James, ver. 20.  
He which converteth the Sinner from the Error  
of his Way, shall save a Soul from Death, and  
shall hide a multitude of Sins. Indeed, subjoyn'd  
he, it is not to be express'd how acceptable a Ser-  
vice you will render to us, if it could be brought  
about by your means, that those who are infect-

K. 3

ed



ed with this vile Heresie, should rather convert themselves, than stay till the correcting Rod of the Church's Canons, or of the Imperial Law should be employ'd against them. Now how greatly this runs counter to our Inclinations and Temper, is, we think well known to you, ever since we past our Lives together at Louvain, in the most agreeable learned Leisure of that University.

<sup>1</sup> But his innate Goodness was by the Prejudice which he had suck'd out of the Divinity of the Schools (in which he had been brought up from his Childhood) sometimes turn'd into Heat against Luther, and other Doctors of his Opinion, who as he thought, carried Matters too far. He was perswaded, that these People did really believe the Doctrines of the Romish Church to be true, but through worldly Views had occasioned such a Schism. From hence proceeded the Advice he gave to the Diet assembled at Nuremberg by the Bishop of *Fabriana Cheregatus*, namely, that if they could not prevail by fair Means they should make use of Severity. Nevertheless his Prejudices and Partiality had not so far blinded him, but he saw and acknowledg'd, that many Abuses had crept into the Church, which stood in need of Reforming. He also endeavour'd to amend them; but so many Difficulties and Obstructions met him from all parts, that he confessed one time to two of his Bosom Friends *William van Enkevort* and *Richard Hex*, <sup>4</sup> That

<sup>1</sup> *Erasm. Epist.* 1487. *Hist.* | *Conc. Trid.* p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Conc. Trid.* ib.

<sup>3</sup> *Conc. Trid.* p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 21, 22. ex *Ephem.* ride *Episc. Fabr.*

the Condition of Popes was very unhappy, for he saw they had not the Power to do Good, even when they were most in earnest to set about it. Since therefore he could not effect any of those Purposes which he had in his Mind, before he set out for Germany, in order to a Reformation, they must be contented to rely upon the Promises, which he fully resolv'd to perform, tho' he were to lose all his Temporal Dominions, or in Imitation of an Apostolical Life, see himself reduced to the utmost Poverty. Accordingly, he charg'd them both strictly (one being his Datary, and the other his Secretary) that they should be very backward in granting Indulgences, Dispensations, Regressions and Coadjutories, 'till all those Matters should be settled by good Laws and Constitutions. He did likewise roundly own by the Mouth of the Bishop of *Fabriana*, at the same time that he stirr'd up the Princes of the Empire at the Diet against *Luther*, as the Author of all the Evils that had happen'd; That these Troubles were owing to the Sins of Men, and especially of the Priests and Prelates: That even those who sat in the Holy Chair some Years past, had been guilty of many abominable Actions: That many Abuses and unbecoming things had been committed in dispensing the Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Ordinances: Finally, that all things had been so changed for the worse, that the contagious Disease extending it self from the Head to the Members, from the Pope himself to the meanest Priest, was spread far and near, and that hardly any

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body

body could be found that did right, and was entirely free from the same. And since he was obliged, by virtue of his Office, to do his best towards healing the Disease, he would exert his utmost Diligence, to the end, that the Court of Rome, from whence possibly a great part of the Evil proceeded, should be reformed. And he was resolved to labour the more strenuously therein, as he perceived that a Reformation was earnestly called for from all Parts. It ought not, however, to be thought strange, if the Abuses were not immediately removed: For since the Evil was inveterate, and become very powerful, the Cure must proceed gradually, and by little and little, beginning with those Things that were of the greatest Importance; lest that whilst we undertake to accomplish all at once, and thro' an unreasonable Zeal of working a sudden Cure, the whole be brought into Confusion, or totally overturned.

<sup>1</sup> This ingenuous Confession of the Pope, whereby the Source of all the Evil was imputed to his Churchmen, was very much resented by them. It was the Way, as they thought, not only to render them more odious and contemptible to the People, but to make the Lutherans also more bold and obstinate. But what was most grievous of all to them, was, that thus a Door was opened whereby to introduce the most hateful Diminution of their Temporal Advantages; or by which the World would be unavoidably

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<sup>2</sup> Conc. Trid. p. 26.

avoidably convinced, that the Corruption of their Manners was incurable. But the Germans, who were the most animated against the Papacy, understood this Acknowledgment in a quite contrary Sense, affirming that this was a Trick which was very common with the Popes; namely, *To own the Evil, to promise Reformation, without ever intending to perform it; in order to lull the Innocent asleep with such kind of Banter, to gain Time and to turn it to their Advantage.*

As for what *Adrian* said, about proceeding gradually in the Business of Reformation, they made a Jest of it, explaining it sarcastically in the following manner: *That indeed the Popes always proceeded cautiously, and step by step in these matters; for they put the distance of an Age between every Step they made.* But People of Honour and Virtue, who had been well acquainted with the good Designs he had always testify'd in his Words and Actions, whilst he was both Bishop and Cardinal, were satisfy'd with this his Declaration, not doubting but he made it in the Sincerity of his Heart; and they were perswaded that he was thoroughly disposed to mend what he could, even sooner than he had promised it. He likewise desired that *Erasmus*, whom he invited to him very kindly, and with great Hopes of his Favour, should send him his Advice in the most private and speedy manner, how the Troubles of *Luther* might

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. 26, 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Erasm. Epist.* p. 1204.



might be composed. But *Erasmus* excused himself from taking a Journey to *Rome*, by reason of his Old Age and Sickness; alledging also, that all his Behaviour and Actions would be more obnoxious to Misconstruction in case he went to *Rome*, than if he continued at *Basil*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he had already several times communicated his Thoughts to the Pope, touching the Removal of those Ecclesiastical Troubles, but *Adrian* never returned him an Answer;<sup>2</sup> offended, it may be, with his *Dutch Plainness* and Freedom in speaking; for that Learned Man gave him to understand, <sup>3</sup> That this Evil had penetrated too deep to be cured, either by Cutting or Burning. He own'd, that the Sect of the *Wicklivists* was formerly subdued by the Power of the King in England; but maintained, that it was rather crush'd than extinguished: But he questioned whether that which then happened in a Kingdom where there was but one Lord, could obtain in so extended a Region as Germany, governed by so many Princes. And if it was determined to root out this Evil by Stripes, Imprisonments, Confiscations of Goods, Banishments, Excommunications, and even by Death it self; then, says he, there is no Occasion of my Advice (for being of a very sweet Temper, he inclined more to soft than violent Methods.) Nor would it be so difficult to cure by the former, if every body else were as well disposed as the Pope himself, and, as <sup>4</sup> he advises in his Letter, would

<sup>1</sup> Ib. 787, 1116.<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 1487.<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 787.<sup>4</sup> Adr. Epist. Lib. XXIII.

lay aside all private Views and Affections, and only seek to promote the Honour of Christ, and the Salvation of the Christian Community in Sincerity of Heart. But if each one aim'd at nothing more than the prosecuting his own Interests; if the Secular Clergy were for preserving their Authority inviolably in all Cases; if the Regular Clergy, or Monks, would not retede one Tittle from any of their Privileges; if Princes were so stiff, as not to forego any of their Rights; it would be exceeding difficult to consult the Publick Good. The Causes from whence these Evils do so frequently spring, should be first examined into, and first removed also. In the next Place, it would not be amiss to suffer those who had been misled by the Advice or Example of others, to escape unpunished; or rather, that the past Evil, which seem'd to have happened by a kind of Fatality, should be covered by an Amnesty, or Act of Oblivion. — And in the mean while, that all those Innovations, which were owing to a Factious and Seditious Spirit, rather than to Tenderness of Conscience, should be restrained by the Magistrate.

To admit such Councils, and to remain Pope at the same time, were inconsistent, in the present Situation of Affairs. But his Death, which fell out in two Years after, put an End to all these Plans. When he was dead, his Face swell'd very much, which some ascribed to Poison, others to the Heat and Steams proceeding from

from the Crowds that throng'd about his Corpse, as of a Saint.

*Erasmus* says, *Had he continued ten Years on the Chair of St. Peter, he would have greatly purify'd the City of Rome, if I be not deceived.* But the Roman Court was, <sup>2</sup> in the Opinion of *Paulus Servita*, wholly unworthy of such a Pope. He died the Thirteenth of *August* 1523. <sup>3</sup> His

Epitaph deserves to be recorded: HADRIANUS SEXTUS HIC SITUS EST, QUI NIHIL SIMILITER INFELICIUS IN VITA, QUAM QUOD IMPERARE, DUXIT. *Here lies Adrian the Sixth, who esteem'd the Papal Government to be the most unhappy Period of his Life.*

In this same Year 1523, *Madam Margarita*, the Regent of the *Low-Countries*, set herself with great Earnestness to reform the Avarice of the *Zeland* Clergy. She had observed, that the Abuses of the Ecclesiasticks of that Province, particularly of the Regulars, were grown to a much greater Height than formerly; since that without any Shame or Decency, they endeavour'd to draw to themselves all the Temporal Goods, either by Sale, Gifts, Legacies, and the like, insomuch that it was to be feared, they would in time have got into their Possession the whole Territories of *Zeland*, to the great Prejudice not only of the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, but likewise the Dignity and Prerogative of the Sovereign. This caused her to

<sup>1</sup> Epist. 1457. *Jovii vita*  
 Adr. p. 127. *Zuingeri Theatr.*  
 3088.

<sup>2</sup> Conc. Trid. p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Jovius in vit. Adr. p. 129.*

renew the Placard of *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, made for the same Purpose in the Year 1452.

About this time, there was holden at *Groningen* a Publick Conference, about some Religious Matters between the *Dominican Friars* and the Priests of *St. Martin's Church*; by which means the Light of the Gospel began to shine among them.

In *Holland* there was a Placard published, bearing Date the first of *April 1524*, whereby it was forbid to print any Books, unless they had been viewed and approved by such as were empowered to do it. In the same Month died at *Wijk-te-Duurstede*, *Philip of Burgundy*, Bishop of *Utrecht*, Bastard-Son of *Philip the Good*. <sup>1</sup> *Heda* relates of him, that he troubled himself very little about Religion, and yet less with the Clergy. <sup>2</sup> But others think, that the Superstition and Abuses of the Churchmen were such as he could not bear, and that he likewise meditated a Reformation. He was formerly sent on an Embassy to *Rome*, where he saw and heard too much. <sup>3</sup> Being asked how he liked that City; he made Answer, *That no Place would have pleas'd him better, if that Scum of Rogues the Courtiers had been banish'd out of it. That the Citizens of Rome, who were call'd the Antients, were brave Fellows. That the Pride and Luxury of the Priests, Bishops and Cardinals, and particularly of the Supreme Bishop, were as*

barefaced

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Ultraject. p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Buchel. Not. in Hed. p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> Gerard Noviomagus in

vita ejus. Tom. III. Script.

Germ. edit. à Frehero.



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*hatefaced as excessive: That he doubted not, but the Lives of the Pagans and Infidels were more chaste and innocent, than of those who took upon them to prescribe Laws to Christendom in the Business of Religion. He added, That he had seen some of the principal Cardinals laugh and point, and loll out their Tongues in a vile Manner at the Simplicity of the People, and particularly of our Netherlanders, whilst the Holy Reliques were shewn to them, and offered them to kiss. With that sort of Folk nothing was Holy but Gold, and something else that ought not so much as to be named. It is related of the aforesaid Prelate, <sup>1</sup> that the Bishoprick of Utrecht was in a manner forced upon him. <sup>2</sup> Erasmus praised his excellent Qualities, Gifts and Virtues, and especially his Love of Peace. <sup>3</sup> And indeed he made it his Business to countenance and promote all kinds of Learning, Arts and Sciences, that flourish in peaceful Times. Henry of Bavaria, Son of Philip, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, succeeded him in his Bishoprick, who <sup>4</sup> four Years after yielded up to the Emperor, as Duke of Brabant, and Count of Holland, the Temporal Jurisdiction of the Province of Utrecht, and so brought it under the Yoke of the House of Austria. <sup>5</sup> On the twelfth of August there was a Placard published in the Name of the Emperor, as*

Count

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus. Ep. p. 583. Suffr. Petri Append. ad Chron. Bekæ, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Erasmus. ib. & p. 1707.

<sup>3</sup> Suf. Petr. ib.

<sup>4</sup> Suf. Petr. ib. Ellerd de Veers Chron. Netherl. p. 36.

& L. Hortensii Hist. Ultraject. p. 173, & in calce Libri.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Grot. Piet. Ord. Holl. p. 89, &c. Idem de Imp. Sum. Potest. circa Sacra. Cap. X. Uitenbog. in the same, p. 94.

Count of Holland, asserting his Right of appoint-  
 ing Pastors and other Ecclesiastical Officers; for  
 anciently the Counts of Holland nominated to  
 all the Ecclesiastical Benefices and Cures of Souls,  
 unless perhaps where some private Persons, or  
 Assemblies, by endowing or augmenting any  
 Churches, might have acquired or obtained such  
 Privilege. The said Placard was couch'd in  
 the following Terms: CHARLES by the Grace  
 of God, elected Roman Emperor, always August,  
 King of Germany, of Spain—Count of Holland  
 and Zeland—sends Greeting to the Chief of  
 our Door-Keepers, Exploictier, or Serjeant at  
 Arms of the Chamber of the Council of Holland.  
 Whereas it has been lately represented to us,  
 that many Spiritual Benefices, such as Churches  
 and Prebends, Vicarages, and other Ecclesiasti-  
 cal Offices within our Territories and Counties of  
 Holland and West-Friesland (some of which are  
 in our Collation, Presentation, and Disposition,  
 and some of 'em in the Collation of our Stadt-  
 holder, of our said Counties, pursuant to the Or-  
 dinances enacted many Years since) have been  
 possess'd and enjoy'd without our Knowledge, and  
 without ours or our Stadtholder's Collation, Pre-  
 sentation and Disposition, and are daily given  
 away to the Prejudice of our Prerogative and  
 Dignity. We therefore being desirous to prevent  
 these Evils, and to maintain our own Rights, do  
 charge and command you to travel about our said  
 Countries, and to repair to such Places as you  
 shall

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\* Vid. Grot. Piet. Ord. Holl. p. 104.

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shall think necessary, and there openly in the Churches declare and require, that every Person who is posselt of, or serves any Ecclesiastical Benefice or Promotion whatever, either in his own Name, or in the Name of any other, shall within the Space of one Month after the Publication of the Premisses, bring or send his Title, or an authentick Copy thereof, and safely deliver it into the Hands of our Trusty and Well-beloved Aernt Sandelijn, Secretary of our Council of Holland, whom we have commissioned for that Purpose, to the end that they may be registred by him, and communicated to us, upon pain that if any shall transgress these our Orders, and continue to possess their respective Livings or Promotions, without producing their Titles to the same within the Time limited, we shall proceed to a new Collation and Disposition, for the Advantage of those on whom we shall think fit to bestow them, to the end that our Prerogative and Dignity may suffer no Diminution or Prejudice; for doing which we do hereby vest you with full Powers and special Directions. For which Reason we require and command all our Officers of Justice, and other our loving Subjects, to be aiding and assisting to you herein, if desired, and they tender our high Displeasure. Given under our Seal of Fiefs, the twelfth Day of September 1524. We likewise find in the publick Registers, a Table or Catalogue of all the Spiritual Promotions that were in the Gift, and did Right belong to the Counts of Holland, or the Stadtholders, written in the French Tongue.

But to return to the Business of the Reformation. About this time the Pastor of *Mels*, a little Place near *Antwerp*, took upon him to preach against Popery, which he did sometimes in the open Fields, when his Church could not contain the Crowds of People that came to hear him. He told 'em in one of his Sermons, in which he declaimed against the Priests in his Time: *We are worse than Judas ; for he sold, and delivered the Lord ; but we sell him to you, and don't deliver him.* This produced a Placard or Proclamation against the said Pastor, and an *Austrian* Monk who taught at *Antwerp*. Their Assemblies were prohibited, and a Reward of Thirty Gold *Carolus's* was set upon their Heads. However, upon a certain *Sunday* great Numbers of the People came together in a Ship-builder's Yard, to hear the said Monk ; but forasmuch as the Teacher, by some chance or other, could not appear, one of the Company named, *Nicholas*, a Person well vers'd in the Scripture, thought it was a shame that such a Congregation, hungering after the Food of the Word, should depart without a little Spiritual Nourishment ; climbing up therefore the Mast of a Ship, he taught the People according to his Capacity ; and upon that account, and for the sake of the Reward that was put upon the Preacher, he was seized upon by two Butchers, and delivered to the Magistrates, who caused him to be put into a Sack, and thrown into the River, where he was drowned.



<sup>1</sup> Henry of Zutphen, sometime Prior of the Austin Monks at Antwerp, fled away upon the Persecution raised against his Fraternity, and about the End of this Year was put to a cruel Death by the Peasants of *Ditmarsch*, who were stirred up by the Clergy against him.

In this State of Affairs many forsook their Cloisters. In Holland, my Country, (says Erasmus <sup>3</sup> in one of his Letters) the Nuns flee away every where, casting themselves upon the Providence of God. The Inquisitor Nicholas van Egmont, was for some Misdemeanour turn'd out of his Office, by the Emperor and the Pope; and <sup>4</sup> Francis vander Hulst, his Collegue, was in danger of Capital Punishment, but <sup>5</sup> soon after he was arm'd with new Powers, and the Sword of the Inquisition put into his Hands.

<sup>6</sup> In the mean while the Doctrine of Luther prevail'd among most of the Inhabitants of the Provinces of Holland, Zeland and Flanders, which made the Monks to rage with a mortal Hatred against it. <sup>7</sup> At Bois le Duc, which was besieged by the Lady Margaret, the Emperor's Aunt, and Governess of the Low-Countries, they drove all the Dominicans out of the City. At Antwerp the out-of-Town-Meetings went on and increas'd, without regarding the Placards of the Emperor and Government. Even Martin Dorpius of Naldwick, the Learned Hollander, and Professor of Divinity at

Louvain

<sup>2</sup> Camer. and Corput's *Life of Melanct.* Beverwijk's *Hist. of Dort.* p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. des Martyrs, f. 87.

<sup>3</sup> In Epist. p. 1924.

<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> Ib. p. 1927, &c.

*Louvain*, who was thought to be not very averſe at firſt from *Luther's Doctrine*, was in danger of his Life, together with *Erasmus*, at *Louvain*: Yea, it was believed, that *Philip de Lens*, the Emperor's Secretary in the Court of *Brabant*, was alſo a Well-wiſher privately to the Reformation. In *Brabant*, *Walter Deleen*, a Learned Man, who was afterwards Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue at *Emden*, declared himſelf likewiſe of the ſame Opinion, and, ſo it is thought, did *Peter Nannius* of *Alkmaer*, a Prieſt, and a Perſon of no ſmall note among the Learned, together with one *Laurence*, another Clergyman. At *Naerden* <sup>2</sup> began *Antony Fredericks* to take his Work in hand, and was follow'd by many of the principal Inhabitants, together with Paſtor *Herman Cock*, and *Nicolas Quick* the Under-Maſter of the School there. At *Utrecht* the Doctrine of the Reformation was embraced by *John* (ſome name him *Henry*) *Rhodius*, Principal of the College of *St. Jerome*; and in *Holland*, *Cornelius Honius*, a learned Civilian, and Counſellor in the Courts of *Holland*, renounc'd the Popiſh Religion, and interpreted the Text, *This is my Body*, as applied in the Holy Supper, by the word, *Signifies*, or *Denotes*. This Interpretation <sup>3</sup> (which he found among the Papers of *Jacob Hook*, ſome time Dean of *Naldwick*) was ſuppoſed to be two hundred Years old; and being tranſmitted from hand to hand down to the

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<sup>1</sup> Hiſt. of the Martyrs in Dutch, 310.

<sup>2</sup> He was afterwards put to death. See Henr. Ant. Pref. p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> See the Life of Weſ. Ganſfort, by Alb. Hardenberg, in Dutch.

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present Age, was sent by the said *Rhodius* and *George Sylvanus* to *Luther*, *Zwinglius* and *Ecolampadius*, to learn their Sentiments about the same; *Luther* opposed it, but the other two approved of it. To *Honius* there acceded a Monk named *Bernard*, *Gerrard Wormer*, *William* of *Utrecht*, *John de Backer* of *Woerden*, who to please his Father, had enter'd into Holy Orders, and *William Gnaphæus*, Rector of the *Gynasium* or High-School in the *Hague*. But these five Persons were all thrown into Prison at several times in the *Hague*, together with *John Sartorius* of *Amsterdam*. *John de Backer*, who was scarce twenty seven Years old, was in the Month of *August*, 1525, bound and strangled at a Stake and burnt to Ashes in the *Hague*: The Causes of this Martyrdom were, that he had preached contrary to the late Decrees, and was married to a lawful Wife. <sup>1</sup> Master *Nicolas Copinus à Montibus*, *Godschalk Rosemunds*, and *Ruard Tappes* of *Enkhuysen*, were his chief Examiners, as touching his Faith, among the Clergy; and Master *Joost Lovering* presided at his Trial as Civil Magistrate; this last was also a principal Member of the Inquisition, and is described <sup>2</sup> by *Erasmus* in a Letter to *Bilebald Pirkheimer* as a mortal Enemy to Learning. During his Imprisonment they had several Conferences with him, in which they labour'd to prove, that People were oblig'd to submit to all the Decrees and Traditions of

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<sup>1</sup> Gnaph. Hist. de Martyr. | Dutch, f 55, &c.  
J. Pistorij à Worden. Hist. des | <sup>2</sup> P. 1931.  
Mart. f. 86. Hist. of Martyrs in

the Romish Church, and receive them as Rules of Life and Manners: That Hereticks were to be Coerced, or else Extirpated by the Sword: And that Priests ought not to Marry. He on the contrary asserted, That he could not submit to any other Rule of Faith than what was express'd in the Holy Writ, in such a Sense as the Holy Ghost, by whose Inspiration the same was delivered, required it to be understood, and that for the Interpretation thereof, no other Words were necessary to be used than those of Scripture it self. He confess'd, That we ought not lightly to violate the Decrees and Canons of the Church, but to observe them so far as they agreed with the Word of God. He added, that Christians were not at Liberty to compel any one by outward Violence to embrace the Faith: That Men were no otherwise to be forced *to come in* than as God forces, or requires them to be forced; which is not by Prisons, Stripes or Death; but by Benevolence, and by the Strength of the Divine Word, a Force as soft and lovely as it is powerful; and that the best Compulsion, was Living and Preaching well. He complain'd, that the Whoredoms of the Priests, which they daily practis'd, were daily confess'd and forgiven: That the Governours of the Church lookt through their Fingers at these Evils, tho' their Ecclesiasticks fell into them again after every Abolution, because of the great Numbers of Sinners; and yet at the same time they would not tolerate in him a chaste and honourable Marriage, which God had allow'd: That he had used  
his



his utmost Endeavours to resist the Desires of the Flesh, and to abstain from all Carnal Conversation of Women; but the more he resisted, the more these Desires grew and prevail'd. When he was interrogated what Methods he had oppos'd against this Evil, he answer'd, Such, by which these kind of Devils were commonly cast out, namely, much Fasting, continual Praying and laborious Toyling; to which he added, that whilst he lived in this State of Mortification he abstain'd from all strong Drinks, neither was his Marriage perform'd in Secret nor without Witness. Upon their objecting to him that he had sinn'd against the Canon Law, the observation of which he had sworn to, when he was made a Priest; he answer'd, That he had only sworn to observe the Canons according to the utmost of his Skill and Powers, and that he had not broken the said Oath. He said, It was his opinion, that the Church had Authority with respect to Order and Decency, but not to impose any thing upon Mens Consciences as a necessary Article of Faith: That this was no less true in relation to the Celibacy of Priests, which was not required by any Scriptures truly Canonical, concerning which therefore even an Angel from Heaven could not introduce a new Article of Faith, much less the Church, which was subordinate to the Word of God, but had no Authority over it. That which was further objected against him and how he defended himself, is to be found in the History which *William Gnapheus* his Fellow Prisoner has publisht concerning his Sufferings, as

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likewise in the Relations extracted from thence  
 and inserted in the Dutch Book of Martyrs.  
 When he receiv'd his Sentence, *Joost Laurence*,  
 who presided at his Trial, dropt some Words,  
 which I am ashamed to repeat; but the Sub-  
 stance was; *That he wish'd, that this poor Man*  
*had had to do with ten pocky Whores, when he*  
*thought of marrying, rather than to have given*  
*him so much Trouble.* This Wish, or rather  
 Curse, was heard with Horror, and condemn'd  
 with Detestation. His aged Father, *John Di-*  
*vikson*, the Sexton, who for his sake was turn'd  
 out of his Place, comforted him, when he could  
 have access to him, with these or the like words;  
*Be strong, and continue in that which is good.*  
*As for me, I am contented, after the Example of*  
*Abraham, to offer up to God my dearest Child,*  
*that never offended me.* The next Day, which  
 was the last of his Life, being the 15th of Sep-  
 tember, he was seculariz'd, or divested of his sa-  
 cred Character, upon a high Scaffold; then they  
 clad him with a short yellow Coat, and put on  
 his Head a yellow Hat with Flaps, like a Fool's  
 Cap. When they were leading him away to  
 Execution, as he pass'd by the Prison where ma-  
 ny more were shut up for the Faith, he cried with  
 a loud Voice; *Behold, my dear Brethren, I have*  
*set my Foot upon the Threshold of Martyrdom;*  
*have Courage, like brave Soldiers of Jesus Christ,*  
*and being stirr'd up by my Example, defend the*  
*Truths of the Gospel against all Unrighteousness.*  
 He had no sooner said thus, but he was answer'd  
 with a Shout of Joy, Triumph and Clapping of

Hands by the Prisoners, and at the same time they honour'd his Martyrdom with Ecclesiastical Hymns, singing, *Te Deum Laudamus* — *Certamen Magnum* — and *O beata Martyrum Solemnia* — Nor did they cease, till he had given up the Ghost. When he was at the Stake, he cried, *O Death! where is thy Sting? O Grave! where is thy Victory?* And again; *Death is swallowed up in the Victory of Christ.* And last of all; *Lord Jesus forgive them, for they know not what they do.* O Son of God, remember me, and have mercy of me. And thus, after they had stop'd his Breath, he departed as in a sweet Sleep, without any Motions and Convulsions of his Head and Body, or Contorsions of his Eyes. This was the End of *John de Backer*, the first Martyr in *Holland* for the Doctrine of *Luther*. The next Day *Bernard* the Monk, *Gerard Wormer*, *William* of *Utrecht*, and perhaps also *Gnapheus* himself, were to have been put to Death, had not the Constancy of our Proto-martyr softened a little the Minds of the Judges. The said *Gnapheus* and *Cornelius Honius* had been first apprehended and thrown into Jail without being heard; where, after they had lain three Months, they were obliged to give Security to continue in the *Hague*, as in a Prison at large, for the space of two Years. During that Time no Accusers appear'd against them. In the mean while *Honius* died, and when the two Years expired *Gnapheus* was discharged, upon Promise of appear-

<sup>1</sup> J. Revij Præf. Hist. J. Pi- / <sup>2</sup> Erasmi. Epist. p. 1059.  
storij præfix.

ing, whenever he should be summon'd thereto. But his Adversaries having got into their Hands a certain Paper, which he had drawn up at the Request of some Friends, for the Consolation of a poor Widow, he was again apprehended, during the Imprisonment of *John de Backer*: After much examining and sifting by the Inquisitors and other Persons deputed by the Court for that purpose, he was confined to a certain Monastery for the space of three Months, and condemn'd to do Penance with Bread and Beer, for having, as they pretended, vilified a Monastical Life; having said in the above-mention'd Paper, That the said Widow ought not to be concern'd for her Son's casting off the Friars Cowl, since, as *Paul* teaches, the Kingdom of God does not consist in Meats or Drinks, or in the Distinction of Seasons, Places and Habits, or Cloaths (which, in great measure, was the Case of a Cloister-Life) but in Temperance, Faith, and Love unfeigned; which Virtues her Son was as much capable of exercising now as before. Afterwards reflecting upon the troublesome Times with which they were threaten'd, partly on account of the Persecution in the *Low-Countries*, and partly by reason of the Insurrections and War of the Boors in *Germany*, whereby the Number of Widows and Orphans was greatly increased, he composed a little Book, the Matter of which was extracted from the Holy Scriptures, under the Title of, *A Comfortable Mirrour for the Sick, in a Colloquy, or Discourse, between Theophilus, Tobias, and Lazarus.* This Treatise being publish'd, tho'



tho' without his Knowledge and Leave, because it was not sufficiently polish'd, did much Harm to Popery, and a great deal of Good among the People. It was frequently reprinted in a short space of Time, and one of the Printers was executed on that Account. Finally, he was forc'd to fly his Native Country. There was a new Storm rais'd against him on account of a little piece of Sausage, that was found in a Pot with Pease in his Kitchen in the Time of *Lent*, and which a longing Big-bellied Woman had put in there. The Court of Justice was taken up two whole Days in weighing this Affair; the Physicians were sent for, and ask'd; *Whether it could fall out, through a natural Inclination, that Women big with Child could be incited to a Longing for Flesh in the Time of Lent?* And then they pass'd the following Sentence upon him: That he should be taken alive or dead wherever he was to be met with. His Mother, an old weak Woman, was put in Irons, and his only Sister cast into Prison. He himself luckily escaped, and was at a good distance from the *Hague* when all this happen'd; but some Officers of Justice were placed in his House, and their Hunger satiated at his Expence. Nor would they take any Security that was offer'd for the preservation of his Effects, 'till he could make his Innocency appear publickly. Such Treatment forc'd him to seek for Shelter in foreign Countries.

Soon

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\* Hen. Ant. van de Lind. præf. Syntag. Theol. B. III.

Soon after the Murder of *John de Backer*, on the 25th of *September*, a strict Charge was given to the Stadtholder, President and Council of *Holland*, to explain and declare the Placard against the *Lutherans*, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the same; and there was also publish'd another, bearing Date the said Day; whereby were forbidden all open and secret Meetings, in order to read and preach the Gospel, or the Epistles of *St. Paul* and other spiritual Writings; or to talk of and interpret the same; as also to dispute about the Holy Faith, the Sacraments, the Power of the Pope, and Councils, and other Ecclesiastical matters, in private Houses and at Meals; and lastly it was required, that all Heretical Books should be burnt, and nothing printed that was not first approved by the Council.

The same Month the Lady *Margaret* the Governess had writ to the Cities of *Holland*, that they should keep a watchful Eye over the Preachers, Parish-Priests and School-Masters within their respective Jurisdictions; and upon the 27th *ditto*, she sent a Circular Letter to all the Cloisters which were remarkable, and which we have thought fit therefore to present to the Reader *verbatim*.

*Margaret, &c. To the Reverend, Trusty and Well-beloved, &c.*

“WE having been inform'd, and fully satisfied, that the Errors and Heresies lately arisen among the Common People, do  
“ chiefly

“ proceed from, and are to be ascribed to the  
 “ indiscreet Sermons of Preachers both Secular  
 “ and Regular; for the Remedy whereof, we  
 “ will and declare, That from this time for-  
 “ wards you shall send forth no Persons to preach  
 “ abroad, nor suffer any to preach in your  
 “ Convents but such as are Learned, Prudent,  
 “ and of good Life and Manners, and that have  
 “ been well exercis’d in the Methods of Preach-  
 “ ing; and before you allow them, to preach,  
 “ you your selves shall admonish them that they  
 “ take heed not to Scandalize their Hearers with  
 “ improper Fables, Tales and Discourses, as  
 “ has been often done; nor that they meddle or  
 “ make with *Martin Luther*, and his Doctrine,  
 “ nor with the Opinions of other Hereticks of  
 “ former Ages: Acquainting all of them, that  
 “ if they presume to act contrariwise, they shall  
 “ be corrected and punish’d, first by a Suspend-  
 “ sion *ab Officio*, and upon persevering, by a  
 “ Deprivation from their Function. We do  
 “ also further declare, That those who *Deter-*  
 “ *mine* in your Convents, shall not continue  
 “ longer in their *Terms* than the Week of their  
 “ Preaching; which being expired, they shall  
 “ return home to their respective Convents,  
 “ without exercising themselves either before or  
 “ after the said Week: Whereof we think fit to  
 “ warn you, least upon the Violation of these  
 “ our Orders, we should take such Measures as  
 “ might turn to your Shame and Damage;  
 “ which we forbear now to do, in hopes of your  
 “ dutiful Acquiescence; having, nevertheless, gi-

“ ven

“ ven Directions to our Magistrates and Civil  
 “ Officers to inform us from time to time of all  
 “ Conventions. We recommend you to God,  
 “ Reverend, Trusty and Well-beloved, &c.

*Given at the Hague, 27 Sept. Ann. 1525.*

IT had been forbidden before to receive or harbour in any places of *Holland* such Ecclesiastical Persons as had deserted their Cloisters.

Whilst all these Precautions were taken to stop the Course of the *Reformation*, there arose a Dispute among the Reformers themselves, about the Doctrine of the *Lord's Supper*, <sup>1</sup> which broke out afterwards into a bitter *Sacramental War*, as it was call'd; <sup>2</sup> first between *Luther* and *Andrew Karelstad*, and <sup>3</sup> and afterwards likewise between *Luther* and *Zwinglius*, <sup>4</sup> the latter of whom was supported by *John Œcolampadius* and others. The Schism which sprang from thence, occasion'd chiefly by the domineering and obstinate Humour of a stiff Head, gave a much greater Check to the progress of the Reformation than all the Tricks and Contrivances, Placards, Prisons, Swords, Gibbets, Stakes, and such like Weapons of the Pope. Each had their Followers, and the *Low-Countries* were divided by

<sup>1</sup> Hospin. Hist. Sacramentaria. L. Lavateri Hist. Sleid. Comment. & Erasmi Epist. p. 774.

<sup>2</sup> Uitenb. Church Hist. p. 104. Corp. Life of Melanct. p. 27. G. Calixti Judicium de Controv. inter Luth. & Reform. p. 71. Ant. Hulsij Relation of

the Disputes between the Reformed and Lutherans, p. 113. See also Corput ib. p. 43. about Karelstad.

<sup>3</sup> Uitenb. ib. p. 27, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Corput. ib. p. 65, &c. Calixt. ib. p. 79, &c. Erasmi Epist. p. 780, 819, &c.



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by them. <sup>1</sup> *Erasmus* had before this wrote against *Luther*, but with great Temper, upon the Business of *Free-Will*: <sup>2</sup> Whereupon follow'd *Luther*'s furious Book *De Servo Arbitrio*, in April, 1526. <sup>3</sup> *Erasmus* reply'd in the space of twelve Days, by his *Hyperaspist* or Apologist, which spoke a more sharp Language: For *Luther* had before expos'd him in several Letters for <sup>4</sup> a blind Man, a pitiful Fellow, one that knew not Christ, of a raw Mind, and still adhering to the Letter. <sup>5</sup> But in this last Book he goes farther, calling him an Atheist, and affirming, that, like *Lucian*, he did not believe a God; an *Epicurean*, who with his Master would not believe that God concern'd himself with worldly Affairs; a *Sceptick*, who doubted of the things contain'd in the Christian Confession; a *Mocker* at the Holy Scriptures; an *Enemy* of Revealed Religion, and a *Blasphemer*. <sup>6</sup> It was also given out by some of the most zealous among *Luther*'s Friends, that *Erasmus* was bribed to write against him, and that he made Merchandize of the Word of God. <sup>7</sup> Some gave him the Name of *Balaam*; but the most reasonable and moderate Men, especially *Melancthon*, made a good use of his Instructions, and they became much less rigorous <sup>8</sup> in the Ar-

icle

<sup>1</sup> *Erasm. op. T. IX. p. 997. Epist. 821.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib. Epist. pag. 789, &c. Luth. op. T. III. p. 165. Uitenb. ib. p. 39.*

<sup>3</sup> *Erasm. Epist. p. 796, &c. Ejusd. op. T. IX. p. 1026.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ejusd. Epist. p. 822.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ejusd. Epist. p. 1095 &*

*Hyperaspist. in T. IX. p. 1029. item Purgat. advers. Epist. Luth. ib. p. 1279.*

<sup>6</sup> *Erasm. Epist. p. 1109.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ib. p. 951.*

<sup>8</sup> *See Melancthus's Judgment concerning the Writings of Erasmus against Luther in his Letters Lib. IV. Epist. 28, &c.*

article of *Predestination* and *Free-Will* : than *Luther* was at first ; 3 yea, that Great Man himself, as some think, was in time soften'd by the force of Truth, tho' he did not show it so openly as *Melancthon*. In the mean while the Persecution went on. 4 In *Holland* the Funeral Piles began to smook again very freely, by the Management of some who understood much better the Burning than the Converting of Hereticks.

5 On the 14th of *March* there was again publish'd a Placard against Heresie, of the same Tenor as the foregoing. After which there was another set forth, which on the 17th of *July* had been drawn up by the Emperor himself in his Council. 6 By the said Placard Men were told ; That the *Vulgar* had been deceived and misled, partly by the Contrivance of some ignorant Fellows, who took upon them to preach the Gospel privately, and without the Leave of their Superiors, and explaining the same, together with other Holy Writings after their own Fancies, and not according to the orthodox Sense of the Doctors of the Church, racking their Brains to produce new-fangled Doctrines. Besides these, divers Secular and Regular Priests presumed to ascend the Pulpit, and there to relate the Errors and sinister Notions of *Luther* and his Adherents, at the same time receiving the Heresies of ancient Times, and some that had likewise been propagated

\* Vid. *Melanct. Loc. Com.*  
Basil. 1546. p. 70, &c. Ibid.  
Epist. Lib. IV. Ep. 796. *Uitenb. Hist.* p. 40, &c.

\* *Necess. Answer.* p. 82.

\* *Uitenb. ib.* p. 41.

\* *Erasm. Epist.* p. 230.

\* *Repert.* p. 16.

\* *Plac. of Fland.* p. 103.

in these Countries, refreshing Mens Memories with the same, and mentioning other false and damnable Opinions, that had never till now been thought, heard, or spoke of; and with great Indiscretion, charging particular Persons that had been defamed, or but lightly suspected, of entertaining some of those Errors; by which means they caused such as might have been brought off, if they had dealt with them prudently and privately, to persevere in the same—— But these Heresies, says the Placard, happen'd in some measure, and were augmented by reason that some of the Laity, who were weak and unlearned Persons, read the Flemish and Walloon Gospels, explaining it, according to their own private Judgment, and according to the Letter, and held divers Disputes among themselves and in publick Meetings, concerning the same; singing out of such parts of the Scripture as pleased them best.—— Wherefore it forbids in the Emperor's Name, all Assemblies (calling them unlawful) in order to Read, Speak, Confer or Preach concerning the Gospel, or other holy Writings, in Latin, Flemish, or in the Walloon Languages—— As likewise to Preach, Teach, or in any sort to promote the Doctrines of Martin Luther; especially such as related to the Sacrament of the Altar, or to Confession and other Sacraments of the Church; or any thing else that affected the Honour of the Holy Mother Mary, or the Saints and Saintesses and their Images; or to speak against the Power of Councils and of the Pope, the Bishops and Prelates of the Church; Prayer

for the Dead; the Observation of Lent, and other Fasts; and in a word, all other Matters ordain'd and commanded by Holy Church. Moreover, that any one, either in publick or private, either within or without his House, either at Table or in common Discourse, should presume to do or say in preaching, reading or disputing any thing that might incite and move against, or divert and distract the Minds of the Common People from the Faith, and from all that we are taught by Holy Church. And all this upon the Penalty, for the first time that any Person shall be discovered and convicted thereof, of forfeiting twenty Gold Carolus's; and on failure of Payment, then to be banish'd for the space of three Months, in which time if they return, they shall be liable to arbitrary Correction. For the second Offence they shall forfeit forty of the like Guilders, or be banish'd Half a Year out of the Country of Flanders, not to return within that Time upon pain of Death, and loss of Estate. But it is left to the Judges of the respective places to lessen or increase the Fines according to their Discretion---- The Pecuniary Mulets are to be divided in the following manner; one third part to the Informer, one third to the Officers of the place where the conviction is made, and one third to the Emperor. And these Fines and Punishments having been once adjudged, shall be forthwith levied and executed, notwithstanding any Reclaim or Appeal. And all this shall be without prejudice to the Office of Inquisitor General, in Cases where Hereafter may be incurr'd. — By this Placard it was

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further



further order'd, That together with the Books of M. Luther, Pomeranus, Carelstad, Melancthon, OEcolumpadius, Franoiscus Lamberti, Justus Jonas, and of all their Adherents of the same Sentiments, all the Gospels, Epistles, Prophecies and other Books of the Holy Scriptures, in High-Dutch, Flemish, Walloon or French, that had Marginal Notes or Expositions according to the Doctrines of Luther, should be brought to some publick place and there burnt; and that whosoever should presume to keep any of the aforesaid Books and Writings by them, after the Promulgation of this Placard, should forfeit Life and Goods.

In the following Year, namely 1527, one Wendelmoet Klaas, a Widow of Monickedam in North-Holland, was taken up on account of Religion, and carried to the Hague, where being interrogated what she thought of the Sacrament of the Mass? she answer'd boldly, That she took for nothing but a piece of Dough. In relation to the Saints, and their Pictures and Images, she confess'd, that she knew no other Mediator but Jesus Christ. Being threaten'd with the Fire-Trial, she continued stedfast, and said; If the Power be given you from above, I am prepared to suffer. To one that said to her, You do not fear Death, because you have not tasted it, she return'd this Answer; That's true, neither shall I ever taste it; for Christ has said, I F A M

Joh. viii. 51. KEEP MY SAYINGS, HE SHALL NEVER SEE DEATH. After she was sentenc'd to Die, they advis'd her to confess

<sup>1</sup> Hist. des Martyrs, L. II. p. 93. Wefenbeck, p. 10.

Sins to a Priest; but she cry'd aloud, *I have confess'd all my Sins to Christ my Lord, who taketh away all Sins: But if I have offended any of my Neighbours, I heartily ask them Forgiveness.* Thus she went with Meekness and Courage to the Place of Execution, where she was first strangled, and then burnt to Ashes. <sup>1</sup> She is by some reckon'd in the number of the Anabaptist Martyrs, tho' I don't find that she was accused of any Heterodox Opinions about Baptism. It was however about the same time that those People began to spread their Opinions in the Low-Countries. <sup>2</sup> The Reformation, exclusive of Infant-Baptism, was set on foot in *Switzerland* about the Year 1522, by the Zeal of *Conrad Grebel* and *Felix Mans*, both Men of Learning, who fell out with *Zwinglius* about the said Opinion. Upon account of this Difference <sup>3</sup> was the first Edict against *Anabaptists* publish'd at *Zurich*; in which there was a Penalty of a Silver Mark (or two Guilders *Dutch Money*) set upon all such as should suffer themselves to be Dipt again, or should withhold Baptism from their Children: And it was declared farther, That those who openly opposed this Order should be yet more severely treated: Accordingly the <sup>4</sup> said *Felix* was Drown'd at *Zurich* upon the Sentence pronounced by *Zwinglius*, in these four Words; *Qui iterum Mergit, Mergatur*; that is, *He that*  
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<sup>1</sup> Hist. of the Anabaptist Martyrs, in Dutch, p. 89.

Writer of the Swiss Baptists, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> History of Anabapt. Martyrs,

<sup>3</sup> See J. H. V. P. N. The Beginning of the Schism among the Baptists, Extract from an old

p. 80. & Beginning of Schism, &c.

p. 4.

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*is dipt again under Water, let him be Drown'd.*  
 This happen'd in the Year 1526; but <sup>1</sup> about  
 the same time, and since, there were more of  
 'em put to Death: A Procedure which appear'd  
 very strange to some: The *Zwinglians* said,  
 ' they were scarce, or indeed not yet free from Per-  
 ' secution themselves; they saw those Fires in  
 ' which their Fellow-Believers were burnt still  
 ' daily smoaking. Most of 'em condemn'd the  
 ' putting Hereticks to Death, where it came home  
 ' to themselves, and suffer'd it where they could  
 ' not help it, and practis'd it themselves where  
 ' they were uppermost. Thus doing to others  
 ' what they would not have done to them. O-  
 ' thers abused Fire, they Water. Those that knew  
 ' better things ought to have done better. Nei-  
 ' ther were they push'd on by a good Spirit,  
 ' that could lead the Wanderer into the Ditch,  
 ' that could drown the Infected, or burn the  
 ' Blind, instead of guiding him into the right  
 ' Way, or instead of Washing or Purifying him,  
 ' and of Enlightening his Understanding.

The first Anabaptists, as far as I can gather from  
 their own Writings, that were put to Death for  
 their Perswasions in *Holland*, during the Reign  
 of Popery, were <sup>2</sup> *John Waden*, and two of his  
 Fraternity of *Waterlandt*; and all these three  
 were with a slow Fire rather Roasted than Burnt  
 to Death in the *Hague*, in the Year 1527. <sup>3</sup> At  
*Brussels* the Dean of *Louvain*, Inquisitor of *Br*

<sup>1</sup> *Letters by John Rieuwerfts,* non occid. Hæret. p. 49.  
*in Dutch, at Amsterd.* 1662. <sup>2</sup> *Hooft's Hist.* p. 32.  
 p. 413. Min. Cell. Tract. de <sup>3</sup> *ib.* p. 32.

nant, *Holland* and the adjacent parts, condemn'd partly, and partly receiv'd as Penitents above fixty Persons. At the same time the Provost of the Regular Canons of *Tpres* was Inquisitor in *Flanders* and the other Countries about it, and the Provost of the Scholars of *Mons* in *Hainault* was the other in that District.

On the 28th of *January*, in the Year 1528, there was a new Placard put out against Prohibited Books, and Monks that had abandon'd their Cloisters. And by another publish'd at *Brussels* on the 20th of *February*, the Emperor again forbid his Subjects in *Flanders*, to give or convey any immoveable Goods, Incomes and Inheritances to Cloisters, Churches, Colleges or Hospitals; strictly charging, that no Ecclesiastick presume to become Heir or Executor to any dying Persons, nor to receive any Gift or Bequest on such Pretence. He likewise forbid them to drive any Trade, or to Merchandise, or to Lease or Rent Estates, on pain of paying the Costs and Charges as well as the Laity.

<sup>1</sup> There lay in the Prison at *Tournay* a certain Austin Monk, named *Henry*, who was condemn'd to die, for having thrown off his Frock, married a Wife, and preach'd against Popery. They offer'd him his Life if he would own, that the Woman he had married was his Whore or Concubine; but he refused to lengthen out his Days on such Terms, and so was burnt alive.

In the Year 1529, there appear'd at *Brussels* a new Edict against the *Lutherans*; it was dated

<sup>1</sup> Hist. des Martyrs, p. 95. Wesenb. p. 10.



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the 14th of October; Whereby all such as had in their Custody any forbidden Books, which they had not brought forth to be burnt, as they were required to do by former Placards, publish'd against Heresie, or had otherwise contravened the same, were condemn'd to Death, without Mercy or Forbearance: That is to say, all such as had first abjured their Errors, and were again fallen back into Heresie, were sentenced to die by Fire; and others, to wit, the Men by the Sword, and the Women by the Pit (that is, to be buried alive) offering at the same time to receive into Mercy all those that would be converted, in case they were not Relapsed Persons, or such as were actually in Prison. People were likewise prohibited to harbour or conceal any Heretick upon pain of Death and forfeiture of Goods. None that lay under the suspicion of Heresie were admitted into any honourable Employ. The better to discover Hereticks, half their Estates was promised to their Accusers, provided it did not amount to above one hundred Pounds Flemish Money; if it exceeded that Sum, they halved the Half, and received the Tenth Penny of the other Part remaining; and the Overplus was to be employ'd in Works of Piety and Charity.—Lastly, it was directed, That they whose Business it was to put this Placard in Execution, should proceed without the long Circumstances of Trials, and as summarily as in Reason and Equity might be done; and that an Account thereof should be return'd every three Months to the Emperor, or in his Absence to the Lady Margarete the Governess; to the End, that they might judge

judge of their Diligence; and if they neglected to do it, the Penalty was a forfeiture of their offices. On the 20th of the abovesaid Month one William of Zwal was burnt at Mechelen on account of Lutheranism. In the Hague one Teunis Teekson of Narden a young Man of 24 Years of age was likewise burnt for his Zeal against Popery in the Year 1530. He was first a Scholar or Student of Louvain, where he led a very irregular Life, but after his return home, whilst he was one Day walking he fell down suddenly as it were struck from Heaven, and was carry'd to his House for dead; after his Recovery he was converted from his wicked Life, and at the same time from Popery also. He preach'd up the Reformation, and confuted many of their Errors, travelling about for that Purpose; whereupon being complained of, and summon'd to the Hague, he freely went thither. They suffered him to depart the first time, then they admonish'd him; and the third time secur'd him; even whilst in Prison they gave him Opportunities of escaping, but he did not seek it. When he was led to the Stake, he sung a Hymn of Praise to God, and pulling off his Shoes and Stockings gave them to the Poor.

About this time our Erasmus was so offended at the Reformation in Germany, that he writ a long Letter to those of East-Friesland, in which he admonishes them not to be concern'd with the manner of propagating Lutheranism in some

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places

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places by Uproars and Tumults, but only build up on the Rock *Christ*. These are his words : <sup>1</sup> Keep your selves in the Ark, that you do not Perish in the Deluge. Continue in the little Ship of our Saviour, lest the Waves swallow you up. Remain in the Fold of the Church, lest you become a Prey to the Wolves or to Satan, who is always walking about, seeking whom he may devour. Stay and see what Resolutions will be taken by the Emperor, the Princes, and afterwards by a General Council. For by them, I hope, the Lord will assuage these Storms.— From one Sect there daily spring new ones : Let 'em first agree among themselves, before you cleave to this or that Party. He was particularly scandaliz'd at the Persecutions which the Zwinglians rais'd against the Anabaptists; for it was about the same time that those of Zurich had ordain'd by a <sup>2</sup> Second Decree, That the Anabaptists should be no where tolerated within their Canton, but taken up in order to be brought to Capital Punishment. They insist and argue, <sup>3</sup> says he, that Hereticks ought not to be punish'd with Death, whereas they themselves do inflict the same upon the Anabaptists, a People against whom there is very little to be said, and concerning whom we are inform'd that there are many who have been reform'd from the worst to the best Lives; and tho' perhaps they may foolishly err in certain Opinions, yet have they never Storm'd Towns nor Churches, nor enter'd into any Combinations against the Authority

<sup>1</sup> Ejust. op. T. IX. p. 1306. |  
& Epist. L. XXXI. p. 2095.

<sup>2</sup> Anab. Mart. p. 109.  
<sup>3</sup> Ib. op. & Epist. ib.

of the Magistrate, nor driven any body from his Government or Estate.<sup>1</sup> He farther relates how the Lutherans endeavour'd to force Men to their Perswasion. <sup>1</sup> Is that no Force, says he, when you refuse to let them partake of your Portions and Charities, who will not bear your Sermons? Or when you decree, that whoever goes to such a place to celebrate such a Festival, or to Mass or Sacrament in the neighbouring Villages, shall forfeit a Florin. Or when your Council censures those that do not repair to the Ministers of your Churches to receive Bread and Wine instead of Christ. <sup>2</sup> This seems to relate to what happen'd not long before at Basil, where the following Law was made, *He that receives the Lord's Supper in any other place, shall forfeit for the first Offence, a Pound or Florin, for the fourth Offence shall be Banish'd.* By the Tumults of which he accused the Lutherans, he meant the way of Reforming practis'd in some Towns of Germany, and especially at Basil, <sup>3</sup> where he had sojourn'd near eight Years: For there the Common People had riotously thrown down and burnt the Images in Churches, deposed the Magistrates, and set up others in their stead, obliged the Monks and Nuns to put off their Ecclesiastical Habits, or to leave the Town; extirpated the Mass with almost all other Ceremonies of the Church — But in Holland there were very few of these Disorders committed. Popery swam

<sup>1</sup> Tom. IX. pag. 1313—31. | <sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 1307. & Servit. Hist. Epist. p. 2106, &c. | Trid. p. 39.  
<sup>3</sup> Epist. p. 1946.



swam uppermost; it put Gags into the Mouths of its Adversaries; Stakes were its Boundaries, and it endeavor'd to destroy by Fire and Sword both the Men and their Opinions together. But the very Ashes which they strew'd in the Wind were a fruitfull Seed for producing new Antagonists against this Murdering Church.

In December, 1530, died *Margarite* of *Austria*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*. She govern'd the *Low-Countries* very wisely for the space of about eighteen Years. And in October 1531, the Emperor sent in her stead the Lady *Mary* his Sister, Widow of *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, a Discreet Woman, and a Lover of Learning, especially of the *Latin* Tongue. Whereupon *Erasmus* said; *That the very Nature of Humane Affairs was alter'd; the Men had forgot Letters, and the Women had taken them up.* But no Letters and no Books were less minded in these Times by most of the Clergy than the Bible. Many had been in Holy Orders for Years, without having ever read the same. Some of them dipping into it accidentally, were exceedingly astonish'd at the Contents thereof, as by no means agreeing either with their Lives or Doctrines. But those who now renounced the Errors of Popery, made use of the Holy Scriptures, for admonishing and instructing each other in their Meetings. They did likewise translate *Luther's* New Testament into *Low-Dutch*, and afterwards his Bible; but it

<sup>1</sup> In Epist. p. 486.

<sup>2</sup> Vander Lind, Præf. Syst. Theol.

was not publish'd till several Years after; and it has been since observ'd, that this important Work is deficient in several Points: One of the first Printers was condemn'd to Death for it, and beheaded. Some body afterwards made a Collection of the most comfortable Passages in the Scripture, and publish'd them under the Title of the *Well of Life*. But this little Tract, which contain'd nothing but the very Words of the Bible, without any Comment or Explanation, and seem'd to be calculated for delivering Men from Superstition, and for bringing them to God and Christ, became very obnoxious to the most zealous Defenders of Popery: Insomuch, that a certain *Franciscan* Frier of *Erabant* took a Journey to *Amsterdam* on purpose, where it had been first printed, bought the whole Impression, and burnt it; but it was afterwards reprinted in several places.

The 7th of December produced another Edit against the *Lutherans* at *Brussels*, whereby that of the 14th of October, 1529, was confirm'd with the following Addition: *That no body should presume from that time forwards to write, print, or cause to be written or printed any new Book, upon what Subject soever, without having first obtain'd Letters of License for the said Purpose; on pain of being Pilor'd, and mark'd besides with a red-hot Iron, or an Eye put out, or a Hand cut off according to the Discretion of the Judge, who was to see the Sentence executed without Delay*

\* Vander Lind. Præf. Syst. Theol.

*Delay or Mercy.* The rest of it agreed for the most part with the foregoing Placard. The Emperor did likewise command, that the aforesaid Placard should be again promulgated on the 15th of November, throughout the Low-Countries, and from thence-forwards every Six Months.

On the 17th of October the Emperor corroborated with a new Placard those that had been made by his Great-Grandfather's Father, Duke Philip of Burgundy, in the Year 1452, and by the Lady Margarine of Austria, in his own Name in the Year 1523, against the Avarice and Greediness of the Clergy in hunting after Immoveable or Real Estates in the Provinces of Holland, Zeland and Friesland; the Substance of which Placard was as follows: *That no Person whatever, who should betake himself to a Convent, or place therein any of his Family or Friends should settle upon such Convent, or any other Convent or Hospital, any part of his Estate or Intome, upon pain of Forfeiting the same; but should nevertheless be at liberty to carry with him a reasonable Sum of Money, or such an annual Pension, as might be requisite for his Support and Maintenance in the Convent. In like manner no Persons in Holy Orders were allow'd to Purchase or Receive any Inheritances or Real Estates; nor could such kind of Revenues descend or be convey'd by Deed of Gift, Last Will and Testament, by the Death of Father, Mother, or any other Friend or Relation to any Convent, or to any Person in Holy Orders, even tho' Security should be given, that they should revert to the right Heirs.* Nei-

ther

her was it allow'd to give or bequeath any Moveable Goods or Personal Estate to such Convents or Ecclesiastical Persons. And the Penalty was Forfeiture of all such Estates whether moveable or unmoveable; and notwithstanding any pretended Customs or Usages of the Clergy, or any Gifts or Grants which they may have obtain'd thro' Importunity, Surprise, or otherwise, from us [so speaks the Placard in the Emperor's Name] or from any of our Predecessors; all which Grants, if any such there be, we do hereby Revoke and Annul as inconsistent and prejudicial to the Rights and Privileges of our Subjects of Holland, Zeland and Friesland, as well as to our own Prerogative and Dignity. Against the same Covetousness of the Clergy the Government of *Holland* had been obliged to secure it self by Placards in the Years 1515 and 1524.

About this time at *Amsterdam* there were nine Men taken out of their Beds at Night upon Suspicion of *Anabaptism*, and hurry'd away to the *Hague*, where after they had been imprison'd a Fortnight, were there Beheaded by Order of the Emperor. <sup>1</sup> Their Bodies were buried, but their Heads put into a Herring-barrel and sent to *Amsterdam*, where they were set upon Stakes. <sup>2</sup> At *Harlem*, in the Year 1532, there was a Woman that had been Re-baptiz'd, thrown into the *Meer* or Lake; but her Husband and two other Men were carried to the *Hague*, chain'd to a Stake there, and roasted to death with a great Fire kindled at some distance from them.

At

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Van de Veer, in Dutch, p. 54. <sup>2</sup> Anab. Mart. p. 112



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At *Limburg*, where the Magistrates avoided the putting Hereticks to death, as much as they could, there arose about this time a heavy Persecution, instigated by some Persons whom the Emperor had commissioned for that Purpose. They burnt six Persons out of one Family on account of their Aversion to Popery, the Father and Mother, their two Daughters and their Husbands. As they were leading them to the Place of Execution about a League from the Town, they did nothing but sing Psalms all the way, and then comforting one another, they call'd upon the Name of their Saviour *Jesus Christ* to the last Gasps.

<sup>1</sup> In the Year 1533, one *Sikke Snijder* was beheaded at *Leeuwarden*, for suffering himself to be Re-baptiz'd. <sup>2</sup> At *Arras* three Men were sentenced to the Fire, for refusing to honour the Holy Candle (as they call'd it) of that City, and for speaking against such superstitious Customs. <sup>3</sup> Four Men were also put to Death in the same Year at *Bois le Duc* for Religious Matters; and five Men and one Woman, at the same place were prevail'd on to abjure the Opinions of *Luther*, and to undergo such Penance as the Church imposed on them, to wit, to walk in Procession before the Sacrament with lighted Tapers in their Hands till they came to the Town-house, where they were to throw their *Lutheran Books* into the Fire; to wear a yellow Cross upon their upper

<sup>1</sup> Anab. Mart. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Wessenb. p. 10. Hist. des Mart. p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Bor's Descript. of Bois le Duc, p. 20.

permost Garments; not to stir out of the Town within a Year; and to attend all Processions with Wax-Tapers in their Hand.

In the Month of February of this Year it was forbid in Holland to harbour any Anabaptist Preachers, and a Reward of 12 Guilders was promised for every one of them that could be apprehended; and soon after there was an Edict or Placard publish'd, importing; *That all those who having been re-baptis'd, were sorry for their Fault, and in token of such their Repentance, came to Confession; and within twenty four Days after Date of the said Edict, should bring a Certificate from their Father Confessor; in such a Case, and for that time only, they should be admitted to Mercy. But those that continued Obstinate, should be treated with the utmost Severity of the Laws.*

In March of the same Year the Lady Mary, the Governess of the Low-Countries, writ a Letter to the States of Overissel, That having been informed, that some warlike Provisions had been found in the Hands of several Sectaries in that Province, which tended to Rebellion; and that the Government had received those who testified their Sorrow, to Mercy: Her Intentions were, that they should proceed against such Offenders after so strict a manner, that those Errors might be wholly extinguish'd; nevertheless they should take care, that in so doing the Land be not too much dispeopled.

Upon a Representation from the Courts of Justice in Holland, that Affairs might sometimes require

require, that obstinate Hereticks should be executed in private, which they thought might have a greater Influence on the Minds of Men, the Governess, by a Letter dated the 9th of November, acquainted them, that she referr'd such Executions to their Discretion, and that they might from thence-forwards proceed as occasion required.

<sup>1</sup> In the Year 1534, one *Joost*, a Potter, was beheaded at *Bois le Duc* on account of Religion; <sup>2</sup> and divers others condemn'd to several kinds of Penances on the like Account. *William Wiggertson* was privately beheaded in the Fort or Castle of *Schagen*. <sup>2</sup> *Isbrand Schol*, a Priest of *Amsterdam*, of an honourable Family, a Man of Letters, and so Eloquent, that learned Men themselves said of him, that when he was in the Pulpit, he could make the People do what he pleas'd; adapting himself to the Understanding of the Meanest; of great Humility and Probity; yet notwithstanding all these good Qualities, this Man also fell into the Hands of the Inquisitors, who could not suffer him to speak so freely of the Religious Points that were in dispute. He was therefore accused before them of Heresie, where he defended himself so well, that he escaped twice; but the third time, the Placard being likewise more strict, he was taken up and sent away to *Brabant*; and after having lain some time in Prison at *Vilvorde*, he was finally condemn'd to the Fire at *Brussels*.

<sup>1</sup> *Bor's Description of Bois le Duc*, p. 21. and the *Hist. of Anab.* Mart. p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Pontan, Hist. Amsterd.* p. 239.

About this time there arose here in *Holland* a new Sect of Enthusiastical Anabaptists, pretending to be guided or driven by the Spirit of God. They committed certain Facts that border'd upon Sedition, and which tended to the Destruction of the Commonwealth. 'Twas a mad and raving Sect, which, <sup>1</sup> as some think, owed its Birth to one *Nicolas Stork* in *Saxony*, about the Year 1522, or somewhat earlier. This *Nicolas* stirr'd up many against the Ministers and Rulers of Churches, making them believe, that such Assemblies and Congregations as were guided and served by Ministers and Pastors, were not the Churches of Christ, and that they were therefore bound to depart from them. They who were perswaded by him, must be admitted anew by Baptism into the true Communion; whereupon they were called *Anabaptists*. But this Sect did not stop there. There was no place, they cry'd, where any Good was done; the *Wicked*, who without any Care of the Commonwealth, studied only how to gratifie their own Lusts and Desires, were they that pretended to domineer over the Godly; wherefore God had decreed to root them out, and to substitute another Race of Men endow'd with Innocence, Righteousness and Holiness. To begin such a Race, and to cause it to multiply, it was necessary to bring forth Children; and therefore no body ought to marry a Wife, unless he knew that there should spring from her such Children as would be Good and

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<sup>1</sup> Camer. vita Melanc. p. 43. and *Corpus's* Life of the same Dutch, p. 15.



Godly, and predestinated for the Community of the Kingdom of Heaven. This could not be otherwise known than by a Revelation from God; but, as they gave out, the Gift of Prophecy was in their Assemblies, whereby they foretold Future things, and disclosed hidden ones. They dreamed Dreams, and saw Visions, and some of their Women prophesied. The said Nicolas Stork pretended to be utterly unlearned, and perhaps he was so, but declared, that God had reveal'd to him from Heaven that Knowledge which maketh wise unto Salvation. Among other Maxims this Sect profess'd the following: <sup>1</sup> That none should apply themselves to Arts and Sciences, nor seek for Learning and Knowledge elsewhere than in the Goodness of the Eternal God, where Humane Means were entirely unnecessary: For how could any one otherwise serve and honour God unless He vouchsafed to shew the like Favour as he had done to the Fathers and godly Men of Old? Yea, say they, we must ask and obtain of God, the same Communion and Conversation with him, of which they had partaken, because they had instantly ask'd it of him. <sup>2</sup> Afterwards the Stork boasted, that the Angel Gabriel had promised him the highest Place in a new Kingdom which God would shortly erect.

These were the Beginnings of horrible Tumults, which spread themselves from one End of Germany to the other, and penetrated even into the Low-Countries; where many simple Anabaptists

<sup>1</sup> Gamer. ib. p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Sleidan. Hist. p. 45 & 153.

Hist. Mart. p. 108.

baptists were involved by the new Sect in great Troubles, by joyning themselves too easily thereto, on account of their professing the same Opinions about Baptism, &c. and foolishly thinking, that they were stirr'd up by the Spirit of God. Many also of these Anabaptists, tho' they did not adhere to the aforesaid new Sect, were punish'd by the Governours, as if they were equally guilty.

From hence arose <sup>1</sup> *Thomas Muncer*, who in the Year 1525, was General of the *Thuringian Boors*, whom he led on to their Destruction. It was this same restless Spirit that came about this time into *Holland*, where he drew after him a great many Persons, making them as mad as himself: Among the rest *Melchior Hofman*, a noisy hot-headed Fellow, that call'd all such as did not agree with him, damn'd Hereticks. <sup>2</sup> He went from *Germany* to *Kiel* in *Holstein*, and from thence to *Embden*, where he chose some Disciples and sent them to the *Low-Countries*. Having appointed *John Triipmaeker* for Teacher in his head, he pass'd from *Embden* to *Strasburg*, where, according to the Prophecy of one of his Followers, he was to be imprison'd for Half a Year, and then preach with Liberty in all places: This was partly fulfill'd, for he was there apprehended, and died in his Bands, tho' it was said of him, that he was *Elias*, and that *Strasburg* should be *Jerusalem*. Whilst he was in Prison, one of his Disciples at *Embden*, who had been

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zealous for him and all his Doctrines, when he was among them, fell from him in his Absence, and opposed the Baptism of Adult Persons. And this Party grew the strongest there, insomuch that *Triipmaeker* his Deputy, was forc'd to march off for *Amsterdam*, where, and in other places, he baptized several, 'till he was taken up, carried away to the *Hague*, and there put to Death with six or seven others.

Before the Half-year of *Melchior's* Imprisonment was expired, there arose in this Country a Baker of *Harlem*, named *Matthison*. This Man forsook his own Wife, who was an ancient Woman, and seduced the Daughter of a certain Brewer, that was young and handsome, giving out that he was *Enock* the second Witness. At *Amsterdam*, where he dwelt privately, he prevailed so far upon some, that they consented he should send them out by two and two, as Apostles or Disciples of *Jesus Christ*. One pair of 'em were his Missionaries at *Munster*, another in *Friesland* where at *Leeuwarden*, the Capital, they baptized divers Persons, and conferr'd upon them the Office of Preaching; these baptiz'd others, and sent them out to Teach. Some of these were concern'd in the Tumult of *Munster*, of which we shall now give an Account, and of the several Steps that were made to bring it about.

That City having been made choice of by some of this new Sect for a Refuge and Harbour they were entertain'd by the Inhabitants without

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<sup>1</sup> Horten. de Anab. Hist. p. 15.

the Knowledge and Consent of the Magistrates, in the Month of *November* 1533. They were chiefly induced to fix there, because at that time the said City had in a manner shaken off the Yoke of the Papacy, the Reformation having been some time before introduced there by one *Bernard Rotman*, who afterwards fell away to the Anabaptists. This *Rotman* had first preach'd in St. *Maurice* Church, without the Town, in the Year 1532. But the Papists gave him a Sum of Money to leave the Town, and to prevent the Concurrence of the Burghers that were his Hearers. He went away, but return'd soon after, and preach'd again, where some of the principal Burghers receiv'd him into the Town, and when he was shut out of the Church, set him a Pulpit in the Porch. But the Number of the Burghers and other Hearers increasing, the Use of a Church was demanded, threatening otherwise to take one by Force. Afterwards *Rotman* was advised by his Followers to call some Learned Men from the Country of *Hessen* to his Assistance. Then they consulted how they should immediately cast off Popery, in order more effectually to promote the Gospel. They prepared Thirty Articles, containing several Popish Errors, which they presented to the Magistrates; praying, that it might be declared, that they were inconsistent with the Word of God. The Papists were asked, whether they could evince the contrary? To which they answered, as *Sleidan* a diligent and faithful



Historian relates it, *That they had nothing to offer in Defence of their Cause ; and that it was bona fide, and for want of knowing better, that they had maintained their Doctrines to be Right and Good.* Upon this Confession their Churches were taken from them, and given to *Rotman* and his Followers. Whereupon they came to Blows with each other ; but the Papists being the weakest, were forced to yield, till by the Interposition of the Landgrave of *Hessen*, Matters were thus accommodated : *Rotman* and his People might preach in the Six Churches, and have the Liberty of Reforming what was amiss ; but that nothing should be alter'd in the Cathedral Church. This Agreement was likewise sign'd by the Bishop himself. In these Circumstances of Affairs, after that all had been adjusted, the Anabaptists came to *Munster*, and preach'd against *Rotman* himself in the Business of Baptism.

At first these Anabaptists held their Meetings in the Night, whilst their Adversaries slept. The Magistrates commanded them to go away, which they did, but came back privately again. *Rotman* went over to them. Whereupon they were forbid the Town a second time ; they return'd however, and were harbour'd by their Well-wishers. Then the Landgrave at the request of the Government sent some Ministers to preach against them. They were offer'd a regular Dispute, but under the Stipulation, That

no Arguments should be made use of, but such as were taken from the Holy Scriptures, and that Learned and Worthby Persons, should be chosen for Arbitrators. But the Anabaptists refusing this Offer, fell into contempt; which made them take other measures: One of 'em ran about the Town as if inspired by the Holy Ghost, crying; *Repent, and be Baptiz'd; if you forbear, the Wrath of God will come upon you.* This raised the Common People, and all of 'em that were baptized ran along with the same Cry. Many comply'd with them out of Simplicity, fearing the Wrath of God, wherewith they were thus threaten'd; and others for fear of being Plunder'd. <sup>1</sup> In two Months time they were several Thousands strong, and upon the Governments putting out Proclamations against them, they took themselves to Arms, making themselves Masters of the Market, and the Townsmen seizing upon another Quarter of the Town. Thus they faced one another for three days together. Many of the Anabaptists were apprehended. At last the following Accommodation was made: *Each Party should lay down their Arms, live in Peace, mutually tolerate their religious Differences, cease from any farther Plots, and obey the Government.* But the Anabaptists suspecting that they should be fallen upon in the Night unarm'd, sent privately Messengers to their Adherents in *Osenburgh Wesel, Koesvelt, and Warendorp,* with Letters to this effect; <sup>2</sup> that a Prophet sent

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<sup>1</sup> L. Hortens. Tumult. Anab. Hist. p. 15, &c. <sup>2</sup> Sleid. ib.

by God was come to Munster, and being illuminated by the Holy Spirit, foretold wonderful Events, and instructed Men in the true Way of Salvation; if therefore they would come over to <sup>em</sup>, they should want nothing; whatever they lost, should be made good to them ten-fold; for which reason, leaving Wives and Children and every thing besides; they had nothing to do, but to repair forthwith to Munster. Upon this Invitation the concourse of People was so great especially of those who had nothing to loose that in a little time they found themselves stronger than the Inhabitants, and so raised another Tumult, crying as they past along: Depart from hence ye wicked Wretches, if you would avoid total Destruction, for all such as refuse to be baptized, shall be forthwith knockt on the Head. Upon this Declaration the Clergy and Burghers that would not joyn and submit to them, left the Town, and the Anabaptists remain'd the Masters. This happend about the beginning of Lent. The Heads and Chief Managers of this Uproar were John Matthison of Harlem and John Bokel-son of Leyden; their Collegues were Bernard Knipperdolling, Bernard Rotman, Jacob van Kampen and John van Geelen. The Town being in their hands, they plunder'd the Churches making the Booty common, in which were involved the Goods of all that fled, or were driven out of Munster. All sort of Books were burnt by <sup>em</sup>, except the Bible. Shortly after the City

was besieged by the Bishop, and *John Matthison* the pretended *Enoch*, kill'd in a Sally. *John Bokelson* ran about stark naked, as driven by the Spirit, and appointed twelve Judges to govern this new Commonwealth of *Israel*; and moreover declared, That it was lawful to have more Wives than one at a time; and the People falling in with his Opinions, he took three to himself immediately. Some of his Followers finding that they had been imposed on by him, form'd a Conspiracy against him; but being discovered, there were one and fifty Persons massacred by *Knipperdolling*, who was his Executioner. They violated all the Virgins that were above Fourteen. Afterwards the said *Bokelson* set up for King of *Sion*, and he likewise sent out seven or eight and twenty Apostles, most of whom were seiz'd and put to Death. <sup>1</sup> During the Siege they publish'd a Book, which they named *the Work of Restoration, or Re-edification*. In the said Book it was maintain'd, that there would be a Kingdom of Christ establish'd, in which the Godly and Elect should reign and all the Wicked be rooted out. <sup>2</sup> A certain Woman of *Amsterdam*, nam'd *Aleid Lysting* forsook her Husband who was very Rich, out of Zeal for this new Sect; and a little before the last Insurrection at *Munster*, went thither and joyn'd herself to the Anabaptists, but pretending Barrenness, she abstain'd from other Men, till at last they obliged her to marry a *Frieslander*: For altho' one took five, another

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<sup>1</sup> Sleid. ib. Pontan. Hist. Amst. p. 31. <sup>2</sup> Hortens. p. 44, 62



another six, and divers four Wives, they let alone the Old and Barren Women : But by degrees they broke thro' all Shame and Reverence, with respect to these also. The King himself marry'd ten Maidens, but the Widow of *John Matthison*, whom he perswaded that God had called her to be a Queen, was exalted by him above all his other Wives, and had a Crown of Gold set upon her Head. A few Days before the taking of *Munster*, some of these People were surpriz'd, carry'd to the *Hague* and executed there.

In the Month of *March*, this Year, the Emperor signify'd by Letters to the Government of *Holland*, that they should once more make an offer of his Mercy to all the Anabaptists, almost on the same Terms as he had done in *February* 1533, excepting, that the Time of their going to Confession was limited to the fourteenth Day. Upon the 16th of *March* they beheaded at *Leeuwarden* a Man that had been re-baptized. On the 21st of the same Month a great Number of Anabaptists with their Wives and Children came together from all parts of *Holland*, taking nothing with 'em but ready Money, and imbarcking in twelve little Vessels, they fled, some to the Province of *Overissel*, and some to *Munster*. Being ask'd whither they were going? They made answer : *To the Country that God shall show us.* The same Day the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* were commanded in the Emperor's Name to put a Stop to another Fleet that was preparing to follow the former; and the Day after five Anabaptists ran thro' the City at Noon with  
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drawn Swords, crying out dreadfully; *In the Name of the Lord. The Blessing of God hangs over the Right Side of this City, and his Curse over the Left.* Ubbo Philips relates, that among them there were the very three Persons who had Baptiz'd and Sent out him and others in *Friesland*, and had moreover assured them, that no more Blood should be spilt upon Earth; and that one of 'em cry'd; *The new City is given to the Children of God.* Another; *Repent ye, Repent ye.* The third; *Woe, Woe, to all the Wicked!* Upon this Cry the Militia was rais'd, and the Cryers imprison'd. On the same Day there were six Persons beheaded at *Harlem*, and among them three of these Street-Scourers, or spiritual Swordsmen. In the same Month there were two more punish'd in like manner at *Amsterdam* by a Sentence of the Court of *Holland*, and on the 24th of *April* four Men burnt at *Harlem*, and two Women drown'd, all for the pretended Crime of Heresie. The Bodies of many that had been executed with the Sword were hung up in Chains, or laid upon Wheels, and their Heads set upon Stakes. In the same Month the Stadtholder of *Holland* and some of the Council were required to put in Execution the Edict against Heresie, particularly with respect to the Anabaptists, and to take to their Assistance two or three hundred Soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> About this time the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* received Notice from *Friesland*, that the  
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Anabaptists had conspired to seize upon their City. Thereupon they immediately raised the Militia, and founded the Common People, to know what Assistance they might expect from them, in case of any such Attempt; who answer'd unanimously, they would live and die for the Government. Then there was an Order publish'd, forbidding to receive any Anabaptists on pain of Death. Those of the Anabaptists that were not Burghers or Inhabitants were required to leave the Town before Night upon the same Penalty. In the Evening the Militia were drawn up in the Market-place, and a strict Search was made in all Houses for the People of that Sect, and twenty of them apprehended and thrown into Jail. On the 2d of May the Count of Hoogstraten, Stadtholder of Holland, and some of the Counsellors of the Court, came to Amsterdam, and six Days after, two of the imprison'd Anabaptists were beheaded. The rest, to the number of Eighteen, having been prevail'd on to renounce their Errors, were condemn'd to the Penance of marching in Procession with Tapers in their Hands, bare-head and bare-foot, clad all in white Linnen, two Days after the Execution of their Brethren. The next Day there were four other Anabaptists beheaded, and four burnt, and a few Days after five more.

On the 25th of June following there was publish'd a Placard, requiring all the *Melchiorites* (for so they called this Sect from *Melchior Hofman*) that had abjured their Heresies, not to stir from their

their Habitations for the space of twelve Months, excepting only such of them as were concern'd in the Herring-Trade.

Whilst these things pass'd in *Holland*, *John* of *Leyden*, who was still in Possession of the Throne of *Munster*, was made believe, that God had presented him with three great Cities, namely, *Amsterdam*, *Deventer* and *Wesel*. He therefore sent out before him *Jacob van Kampen*, to *Amsterdam*, constituting him Bishop of that place, and joyning to him *John Matthison* of *Middelburg* as a Coadjutor.

A little before, the Towns of *Harlem*, *Leyden*, and *Delf* had petition'd the Statholder to secure them against the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians of those places. He thereupon return'd to *Amsterdam* in the beginning of *October*, where he blamed the Magistrates for their Negligence and Remissness in punishing those Sectaries, and ascribed thereto the Growth and daily Increase of that Evil. The Scout, or chief Criminal Magistrate, being suspected and charged with *Lutheranism*, quitted his Office. Presently after the Procurator General seized on two Anabaptist Burghers, and there ran a Report, that in the following Night two hundred more were to be seiz'd, carried to the *Hague*, and there put to Death. Upon this, some of the Townsmen got together, and continued all Night about the Stadthouse, declaring, that they would never endure, against all Right and Reason, that the Innocent should be haled out of their Beds in the Night after

<sup>2</sup> Hortens. p. 40, &c. Pon-  
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<sup>2</sup> Hortens. p. 42.



after such a manner. Whereupon, and to pacifie them, one of the *Schepens*, or Sheriffs, to whom the Watch was committed the next Night, assured them, that nothing of that nature should be done any more.

1 On the last Day of this Year there was a Burgher beheaded for being Re-baptiz'd, and another, whom the Judges had summon'd before them in vain, banish'd the City for ever, and a Woman drown'd; and thus ended the Year 1534.

2 In the Beginning of the Year 1535, upon the 23d of *January*, the Anabaptists had conspired to set Fire to the Town of *Leyden* in the Night, and to make themselves Masters of it: They who were engaged in this Plot were not above thirty or forty, but they fancied that the Mob would joyn them. 3 But the Magistrates having been seasonably warn'd by the Governour of *Woerden*, or as some affirm, from *Amsterdam*, order'd the great Town-Clock to be stopp'd, to prevent the timing of this Blow (for the Burning and Storming of the Town were to be executed together;) and immediately calling the Burghers to Arms, search'd all the suspected Houses, and seiz'd fifteen Men and five Women of their Gang, who were all of them afterwards put to Death; the Men by the Sword, the Women by Water.

4 On the 11th of *February* some of the Anabaptists of *Amsterdam* held a certain Night-meeting

1 Pontan. *Amsterd.* p. 277.  
Hortensf. p. 43.

2 Ib. p. 53.

3 Meursij *Athen. Batav.*

p. 50.

4 Hortensf. p. 53. Pont. p. 35.

Ub. Em. Hist. Fris. p. 833.

ing in a little Alley of that City, whither the Women, leaving their Husbands in Bed, did likewise repair. *Richard* the Taylor, one of the seven Men that were assembled, made as if he felt an ecstasick Motion of the Spirit; whereupon, after passing four Hours in Preaching and Praying, he took off his Helmet and the rest of his Armour, and all his Cloaths, and threw them into the Fire, commanding the other six to strip themselves also, which they did. Then he order'd the five Women to do the same, who obey'd him no less punctually, leaving not so much as their Hair-laces upon their Heads. Thereupon he said, *Follow me, and cry as I do*; then all twelve of them ran, as if with their Cloaths they had put off all Shame and Modesty together, stark naked through the City, roaring out most terribly; *Woe, Woe, Woe: The Wrath of God! The Wrath of God! The Wrath of God!* Upon this Night-cry the Burghers betook themselves to their Arms, and all these Night-walkers, excepting one Woman, were apprehended by them. Being brought to the Stadthouse, before the Magistrates, they refused to put on the Cloaths which were offer'd to them. *We are,* said they, *the Naked Truth.* In the mean time those that dwelt near the Meeting-house of these new *Adamites* being alarm'd with the Smoak and Stench of their burnt Cloaths, broke open the House, and very seasonably, for it was just on Fire. After this, there was a strict Search made for the Adherents to this mad Sect throughout the Town, the Hour-Bells being stopt, and the Gates shut.

In this same Month there came out of the Province of *Hainalt* to *Amsterdam* above a thousand of the Anabaptists, but by the wise Management of the Magistrates they were sent all away again, without any Disturbance. Presently after, the seven Male Night-walkers above-mention'd were beheaded: As they were going to be executed, one cry'd; *Praise the Lord always.* Another; *Revenge not the Blood of thine Elect.* A third; *Open your Eyes.* A fourth; *Woe, Woe.* In *March* there were likewise nine Anabaptists punish'd with the same Death. Thus do *Hortensius* and *Pontanus* relate this strange Scene at *Amsterdam*. But in an ancient Register of all the Magistrates of that City, from the Year 1413, to the Year 1548, in the Town-Clerks Office, it is said, that there were about fifty Men and Women, who ran naked through the Streets, crying, *Woe to Babylon!* That twelve of the Men and as many Women were seized, that being in Prison, they would not eat nor drink in any Earthen Ware, but threw them against the Ground, and danced over the Fragments of them: That one of the Men would eat no Victuals unless it were chew'd, saying, *I am a Child.* When their Prophet *Richard* was led to Execution, he cry'd out three times; *Open your Eyes and behold.* He had declared, that they could not kill him with any Instrument; but he proved a False Prophet, and the Sword found resistance. Another cry'd out likewise; *O God that fears nothing, be merciful to the Ignorant.* Another; *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

not what they do. Another ascended the Scaffold, dancing, and singing continually, *Praise the Lord*, but refused to kneel down; upon which the Executioner threatening to bind him to a Wheel, he submitted, and his Head was struck off whilst he sung, *Praise the Lord*. The Women, to the Number of twelve, were drown'd in the R: But the Landlady of the House in which they held their Meetings, was hang'd before her own Door.

On the last Day of this Month the Anabaptists raised a Tumult in *Friesland*. They met at a Village near *Franeker*, from whence they march'd, three hundred strong, with their Wives and Children to *Oud-Clooster* near *Bolswart*; in that place, which they seiz'd upon, they pretended to continue, and to defend themselves against all Violence; perswading each other, that the Artillery which the Government might send against them, would turn of it self, and destroy their Enemies. They drove away the Monks, brake the Images, Pictures, and all that belong'd to their Chapel, to pieces, took out the Altar, and trod it under their Feet, crying out; *Behold the God of the Wicked*. Being besieged by the Stadtholder of *Friesland*, he offer'd those in the Castle an Amnesty, if they would lay down their Arms, and march away, and to those that were without, a free Convoy to bring them to their own Country, saving Ten only, whom he insisted to be deliver'd up to him at Discretion.

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\* Hortens. p. 56, &c. Winsemij Chron. of Friesland, p. 506  
b. Em. Hist. Fris. L. VIII. p. 884.



tion. But they resolved to live and die together, rejected his Offer, fired upon his Forces, and stood out four Attacks; but upon the 7th of April they were taken by Storm, and all put to the Sword, excepting threescore and two Men, and threescore and ten Women, that were sent to the Court at *Leeuwarden*. The Stadtholder lost a hundred of his Soldiers in this Expedition. Afterwards there was a Gibbet erected at the West End of the Cloister, upon which four and twenty of the Prisoners were hang'd, and fifteen others were beheaded; several Women and Maidens were also drown'd in the *Hempenser Meer*, or Lake: A few who were supposed to be drawn away thro' Simplicity and Ignorance, were discharged. At *Deventer* there were two Anabaptists beheaded about the same time.

<sup>1</sup> In this Month likewise one *Harman* a Shoemaker appear'd in a Village of the Province of *Groningen*, and gave out, that he was the Messiah; crying with a loud Voice; *Slay, slay all the Monks and Papists; slay all the Magistrates of the whole World, and especially those of this Country. Repent, repent, behold your Redemption draws near.* Upon this Cry, all the People round about came together, believing that the Day of Judgment was at hand, and suffering themselves to be Re-baptized, being perswaded that such as were not, should be damn'd. But *Herman* the *Sham-Messiah*, or *God the Father* (for so he pretended to be sometimes) was afterwards

<sup>1</sup> Hortensf. p. 58. Ub. Em. ib. p. 885.

playing more such Mad and Enthusiastick Pranks, seiz'd and carried to *Groningen*, where, having undergone many Torments, in order to oblige him to confess what farther Designs he had form'd, he died raving in a Dungeon.

1 The Troubles at *Bolswart* were awaken'd again by one *John van Geelen*, whom the King of *Munster* had sent to *Holland* and *Friesland* with a great Sum of Money for that purpose, and to support the Character of General of all the Anabaptists, who, he was told, would take Service with him as soon as he appear'd. Having escaped from *Oud-Clooster*, after the Defeat, he fled to *Amsterdam*, where he changed his Name; but went soon from thence to *Brussels*, where, the better to promote the Interests of his Enthusiastick Sect, he pretended to forsake his Errors, and obtain'd Letters of Indemnity from the Princess *Mary*, upon Condition, that he should by some Means or other deliver up the City of *Munster* into the Hands of the Emperor. Afterwards he convers'd openly with the Burghers of *Amsterdam*, resorting however in private to the Meetings of the Anabaptists. 2 Here he got such a Number of Followers, that he agreed with them to surprize by Night the City of *Amsterdam*, tho' they believ'd that God had given it to *John of Leyden* their King at *Sion*. The Time appointed for this Expedition was the 10th of *May*, and the Token, the ringing of the Stadthouse Bell; and lastly, their Rendezvous

<sup>1</sup> Pont. Amst. p. 39. Hortens. ib.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 60, &c.

dezvous was the House of one *Peter Gale* in the *Pile-Street*. But the very Night when this Conspiracy was to have been executed, it was discover'd to the Burgomasters. At first they thought it neither probable, nor possible, that such a Design could be carry'd on so secretly; but the Discoverer gave them so good Reasons for what he said, and convinced them of the Feasibility of the thing, that at last they believ'd him. Then they consulted (for the Evening was already come) how they might cause the Burghers to be Arm'd, and brought together to the Stadthouse with the utmost Privacy: But their Consultations lasting too long; before they could come to a Resolution, the Opportunity was lost. For in the mean while the Anabaptists were got together, and marched, Colours flying and Drums beating, with loud Cries from their Rendezvous to the *Dam* or Market, and fell upon the Stadthouse, out of which the Burgomasters narrowly escaped; most of the Watch were either taken Prisoners or cut to pieces. A certain Fellow belonging to the *Schout*, lying drunk upon a Bench in the Stadthouse, being rous'd by the Noise, ran up, without knowing what he did, and set the Bell a going; as for the Officers of the Militia they having been Feasting the Day before with some of the Magistrates and Civil Officers of the Town, were none of 'em at their Posts, which the Anabaptists knew, and improv'd the Opportunity. The Burghers being call'd to Arms by the Bell, were order'd to secure the Passages to the *Dam*; but advancing towards the Market to en-

the Rebels, divers of them were shot dead with poison'd Bullets. Burgomaster *Collin*, a Learned and Pious Man, but suspected as to his Religion, because he was not for proceeding with so much Severity against the Anabaptists, endeavour'd at this Juncture to remove the Jealousies which People had conceiv'd of him, and bravely lead on the Burghers to quell the Sedition; but charging with more Courage than Conduct, his Men were defeated and himself slain. After this *Goswin Bekals*, another Burgomaster, and an old Soldier, order'd Sails to be spread cross the Ends of those Streets and Lanes that led to the Market-place, and a great Number of Pop-sacks to be placed behind, by way of Breast-work, and to cover his Men. And finding that he was not like to do much with the Townsmen, who were frighten'd out of their Wits, he presently list'd several stout Fellows with a Month's Pay into the Service of the Government; and with these he resolved to make the first Onset. In the mean while the Citizens lay still, and the Anabaptists spent the rest of the Night in singing the Psalms of *David*. *John van Geelen* expected that they should render themselves Masters of the Town the following Morning by Ten a Clock, without Bloodshed, with such a Handful of People; for 'tis said, that the first Projectors of this Work were not above Forty strong. But the next Day some Cannon being brought upon the *Dam*, the Gate of the Stadthouse was shot to pieces; whereupon the Soldiers, supported by the Burghers, drove



the Anabaptists into the farthest part of the Stadthouse ; and the more easily to come at 'em (who were but twenty five in Number, and defended themselves like Lions) they got Ladders and enter'd at the Windows ; thus having surrounded them, and firing upon them from all sides, they slew some, and took the rest, about twelve, alive. On the Burghers side there were twenty kill'd. *John van Geelen* fled up to the Tower, and there exposed his naked Breast choosing rather to die by a Shot than by a Halter. After all was over, they took the dead Bodies of the Anabaptists, and hung them up by the Feet on the Gallows.

The 14th of *May* some of those that had been taken alive were brought out, laid upon Butchers Blocks, open'd, their Hearts torn from their Breasts, and thrown in their Faces, their Bodies quarter'd and set upon the City Gates, and their Heads fix'd upon Poles. On the 15th, two Men more were beheaded, and three Women drown'd. On the 21st two Women were hang'd before their own Door in the *Pile-Street*, for having known of the Plot, conceal'd the Rebels, and poison'd the Bullets. Before that, there were nine Women more drown'd. On the 22d three Men more were beheaded ; and a few Days after three more, for having been inform'd of the Conspiracy and not discovering it. A Widow and her Son too, were hang'd at their Door for harbouring the Bishop, *John van Kampen*, and not discovering him to the Government. A large Sum of Money had been set on the Head of the Bishop

Bishop, and great Threats denounced against such as concealed him, and did not discover him before Sun-set; to wit, that they should be hang'd before their own Doors: Nevertheless he continued hid that Day, and was found at last under a heap of Turf. They put him to the Rack, but could not make him own any thing of a Plot; but he cry'd out; *I have forfeited my Life, I am Re-baptiz'd: I never consented to any Treason against the City.* In his Letter he always stiled himself, *Bishop of Amsterdam, and Teacher at Munster.* — The Pains and Torments of his Death were increased by the Contempt they put upon him: For before he was executed, they expos'd him to the Sight of the People about an Hour, with a two-corner'd Mitre on his Head. The Tongue with which he had taught, was cut out of his Mouth, and, before his Face, thrown to the Dogs; the Hand he had used in Re-baptizing, was likewise cut off; lastly, they tied him down to a Butcher's Block, and beheaded him with a Cleaver, burning the Body in the Market, and setting up the Head and Hand over a Gate of the City. *John Mattheison* of *Middelburg* had the good Fortune to save himself. On the same Day two Women, that had been employ'd in carrying Letters for 'em, were hang'd in Chains. Among the Partisans of Bishop *Geelen* there were many Inhabitants of *Benskop* near *Iffelsstein*, to the number of about three hundred, whom he had invited to meet him at *Amsterdam* on the 10th of *May*; but they came too late, and hearing of the Defeat of their

Friends, they returned home as fast as they could. He had also given a Rendezvous to several others near the City, who could not come up till after the Battle; and finding the Passages all shut, fled in two Ships to *England*. Some time before this Sedition, about fourteen Men of that Party had contrived to meet the Ordinary Procession upon a Bridge, to lay hold on the Pix, which contain'd the Consecrated Wafer, and break it to pieces, and to throw those that carried it into the Water: But their Plot was discover'd, and the Contrivers punish'd.

The King of *Munster* having heard of the ill Success of his Design upon *Amsterdam*, and the Death of his Bishop, was at his Wits-end, and his Affairs in the utmost Confusion. <sup>1</sup> And accordingly, soon after this ill News, that is, upon the 28th of *May*, the City was surprized and taken by the Bishop of *Munster's* Army, guided by a Renegado Anabaptist, who had gone over to them. <sup>2</sup> The King was taken alive, and on the 23d of *January*, in the following Year, after pinching his Body with red-hot Irons for the space of an Hour, was stabb'd to the Heart with a Dagger.

<sup>3</sup> A few Days before the Reduction of *Munster*, the Emperor caused a very severe Edict to be publish'd against the Anabaptists, at *Brussels*, importing; *That all Men and Women that should be found infected with the Reprobate Hereſie of the Anabaptists, of what State and Condition so-*

<sup>x</sup> Hortens. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 72. Sleid. 162. Erasm.

| Epist. 1537.

<sup>3</sup> Anab. Mart. 113, &c.

ever they were, and all their Followers, Accomplices and Abettors should forfeit Body and Goods, and Sentence be forthwith executed upon them; that is to say, those who shall have been convicted of having taken upon themselves the Name of a Prophet, Apostle or Bishop; or shall have seduced and perverted any one to this Sect, or Re-baptized them; or, lastly, shall continue obstinate in their Errors, they shall suffer Death by Fire: And all other Men (having suffer'd themselves to be Re-baptized, or that have privately and knowingly harbour'd any Anabaptists) in case they renounce their evil Designs and Opinions, and sincerely repent thereof, they shall die by the Sword: And as for the Women, they shall be buried alive. And We farther Will and Command, says the Emperor in the said Placard, all Our loving Subjects, to discover and inform against all the said Anabaptists, on pain of being punish'd as Favourers, Adherers and Accomplices of that Sect; promising at the same time for a Reward, the third Part of the Estate of any such Persons, to those that shall Accuse and Convict them. But forbidding, that any one shall offer to intercede in their behalf, or promote any Petition for them; since it is not thought proper to shew any Favour to the said Anabaptists, because of their Evil Designs, but to Punish them without Mercy and Delay, for an Example to all others. The Munsterian Enthusiasm, the mad Frolick of the Anabaptists running naked, the Seizing of Oudwater, and the Attempt upon Amsterdam, gave too much Occa-



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Occasion to the making this Placard : <sup>1</sup> However, in the Apprehending and Condemning the People of this Sect, there was little notice taken, whether those whom they put to Death were in any wise guilty of the above-mention'd Riots and Mutinies : But the Severity of the Government was extended against all of them, without making any Distinction hardly between the most Simple and Innocent, and the most Criminal.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the *History of the Anabaptist Martyrs* relates, that they beheaded at *Amsterdam* one *Peter* a Sexton of *Sardam*, as guilty of the late Insurrection, tho' he being a Teacher among a better sort of Anabaptists, had used his utmost Endeavours to hinder it.

<sup>3</sup> At *Hoorn* there were five Anabaptists imprison'd in the Month of *March*, where they lay still for a while ; but by Order of the Court the *Scout* of the Town, with the Priest and some Learned Persons, went to examine them ; these took great pains to bring them back to the Church of *Rome* ; but they continued stedfast, and among other things, said to the *Scout* ; *When the Sheep is fat, it must be brought to the Slaughter-house.* Hereupon they were all of them soon after condemn'd to die ; *Forasmuch* (so runs the Sentence) *as they had all of them openly declared, that they had been Re-baptiz'd.* Three of these were Men, and they were Beheaded ; but the two Women were thrown into the Sea, with a great Stone tied to their Neck or Body. This excited great

<sup>1</sup> V. Kornh. L. III. p. 36.  
Anab. Mart. p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Vel. Chron. of Hoorn  
p. 136.

great Compassion in the Burghers, and even in the Magistrates themselves; insomuch, that they afterwards spared their Fellow-Citizens, in the Business of Religion, as much as ever they durst. And indeed these were the only Persons that suffer'd at *Hoorn*, on that Account. <sup>2</sup> At *Amsterdam*, in *July*, four more Anabaptists were Beheaded, among whom was *the King of Munster's* Cook. <sup>3</sup> At *Sierixzee*, about the same time, they burnt a simple Country Fellow, only for speaking against the Mass-Wafer.

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<sup>1</sup> Vel. ib. <sup>2</sup> Hortens. p. 74. <sup>3</sup> Reform'd Martyr Book, p. 84.

*The End of the Second Book.*



in the Low-Countries.

great Compassion in the Father, and also in  
the Magistrates themselves; insomuch that they  
afterwards found their fellow-citizens in the  
Barricks of Religion, as much as ever they durst.  
And indeed there were the only Barricks that  
were left in the Low-Countries.





*Gerrard Brandt's*  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**REFORMATION**  
And other Ecclesiastical EVENTS  
IN THE  
**LOW-COUNTRIES.**

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**Book III.**

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**T**H E : Persecution, which now spread it self far and near thro' out the *Low-Countries*, reach'd also, in the Year 1536, a Foreigner of Good Name and Learning : 'Twas *William Tindall*, an *Englishman* ; who having translated the  
New

<sup>2</sup> Hist. des Martyrs, p. 109. Corput's *Divine Tribunal*, in Dutch, p. 551.



New Testament into his Mother-Tongue, and dispersed it in his Country, was apprehended for it at *Antwerp*, carried to *Vilvorde*, and there at last Strangled and Burnt.

Now, tho' the murdering Temper of this *Cannibal Church* render'd the Popedom still more odious; and tho' some made a right Use of the Doctrines of the Reformation, yet there remain'd a great deal to blame in those that had separated themselves from the *Romish Religion*. Most of those that pretended to be Reform'd, led such unchristian Lives, that it gave an Occasion to *Erasmus* to say; *I am greatly afraid, that Paganism will succeed Pharisaism.*

The Reasons he produced some time before against the Reformers of this Age, with respect to the Methods and Ways made use of by them, to bring about a Reformation, and the Fruits of their Labours, shall be now briefly related by us; to the End, that the Reader may judge whether that Great Man was in the right, not to joy himself more closely to them.

He addresses to them in a certain Writing, which is to be found in the IXth *Tome* of his Works, and in the last Impression of his Letters, after the following manner: — *But you, Gentlemen, boast, that you have brought to light those Evangelical Truths, that have been buried above a thousand Tears. But if you speak true, you are engaged in a greater Work than the Apostles themselves had upon their Hands at the*

<sup>1</sup> Epist. *Erasm.* Lib. XIX. p. 852.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* Tom. IX. p. 1296. Epist. p. 2954.

Beginning : For the Jewish Ceremonies, and the Superstitions of the Gentiles, might be much more easily cast off and abolish'd than such things, which the Heads and Rulers of the Church have, for so many Ages, and with so great Unanimity, taught, as the Oracles of God, and with Honour establish'd among us, and preserv'd even to this Day. And in another place, That the Fopperies of the Heathen Religion were so glaring, that their own Learned Men could not forbear observing the same ; that had it been foretold by the Prophets, that the Gentiles should acknowledge the True God, and that the Jewish Ceremonies should vanish like Shadows before the glorious Light of the Gospel. Add to this, says he, that a perpetual Agreement of Doctrine, together with the Working of Miracles, procured Credit to the Preaching of the Apostles : Whereas, you do not only disagree among your selves, at every turn varying both Doctrine and Ceremonies, but you are likewise wholly unprovided of those extraordinary Gifts which they were endow'd with. Neither can I think, that even Miracles would alone have been so effectual to Reform the World, as the Manners of the Evangelists, which were wholly pure and unblameable. I do not speak now of Fastings and other Mortifications, or wearing particular coarse Garments, and the like Customs, which the Hypocrites can mimick ; but of Patience and Tranquility under Oppression ; of Humility in bearing Wrongs ; of a Mind and Temper that is modest and gentle, that does Evil to none, and seeks to do Good to all Men ; that has raised

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raised it self above worldly Affairs, and valued not Life at all. Such were the Disciples of our Saviour; by these Means did they acquire a great Esteem to their Doctrines; and when they converted People from their depraved Customs and Opinions, they instructed them in better. You cry out aloud against the Luxury of Priests, the Ambition of Bishops, the Tyranny of the Pope; against the Doctrines of the Schools, against Prayers, Fastings, against the Mass; and you will not be contented to Reform the Abuse of these things, but are for quite Abolishing them. You are not pleas'd with what has been receiv'd in former Times: But you pluck the Weeds together with the Corn; or, to speak more properly, you pluck up the Corn before the Weeds. In the mean while, what better things do you set before us, or more worthy of the Gospel, in order to bring us off from what we are used to? Let us cast our Eyes once upon the Evangelical People, and observe, whether there be less of Oppression, Avarice or Luxury than among those whom we so detest. Show us one Man whom your Preaching has converted from Gluttony to Sobriety, from Wrath and Anger to Meekness, from Robbery and Extortion to Generosity and Benevolence, from Cursing to Blessing, from Impudence to Modesty. I can show you a great many that are worse than they were before. Images are thrown out of the Church, but what signifies that, whilst you worship and idolize your own Vices? Neither can I see to what purpose some have fallen upon the Images with so much Zeal and Passion, unless it

he to make it serve for a Signal or Watch-Word  
to Tumults and Insurrections. In the mean time  
your Pretence is the abominable Sin of Idolatry;  
but who is so stupid as to imagine there is any  
Knowledge in a Stock or a Stone? And if any  
such there were, how easy would it be to insinuate  
into their Minds, that Images were only brought  
in for Strengthening the Memories of the Igno-  
rant? The usual Prayers are left off, and now  
there be many that don't Pray at all — The Mass  
is put down, but what more sacred thing is Sub-  
stituted to it? — I was never at any of their  
Sermons, but I saw 'em once coming from thence  
as if possess'd by an Evil Spirit, every Counte-  
nance betraying a strange Wildness and Anger;  
nor did any one of 'em, excepting an old Man,  
show me, or the Gentlemen in my Company, that  
common Respect which we pay one another. Au-  
ricular Confession is likewise abolish'd, and now  
there are many that will not confess their Sins  
to God himself. Together with Fasting, People  
have rejected the Distinctions of Meats; but at the  
same time abandon themselves to all kind of In-  
temperance: Judaism is indeed driven away, but  
Epicurianism has succeeded it: Men have trod  
under foot the Form of Religion, but the Power  
is not thereby increas'd; no, it has rather decreas'd.  
St. Paul retain'd some of the Jewish Ceremo-  
nies, that he might not alienate the Jews from  
the Gospel: You should not therefore have cast off  
all Ceremonies in the manner you have done. The  
Apostles I own knew nothing of Stated Fasts; but  
they fasted of their own accord daily, without wait-



ing for its being commanded. They knew as little of the Distinction of Meats, but they willingly used the meanest, and liv'd in the utmost Sobriety. None of them were order'd to live upon Roots and Garden-Stuff, but they eat them very freely as the case required. None of 'em were forbid the use of Wine, but Timothy abstain'd from it of choice so long, till Paul was forced to exhort him to drink a little of it for his Stomach's sake. If we lay hold of Evangelical Freedom, let us so reject the Yoke of the Law, as to do out of Charity more than that requires of us. Men have thrown off Human Inventions, but where are those that have submitted their Necks to the easie Yoke of the Lord? But in the mean while one Human Imposition is charged for another, yet for such as are not very Human. The Name is only changed, for it is called the Word of God, but as to the rest, the thing it self is so little mended, that many good People have chosen Voluntary Banishment rather than this boasted Liberty. — The Domination of Bishops is rejected, but after such a manner, that all Civil Government is likewise thrown off. In old Times the Christians liv'd peaceably under the Heathen Princes, carefully avoiding all Occasions of Tumults and Seditions, giving Honour to whom Honour, Tribute to whom Tribute, and Taxes to whom Taxes were due. The Primitive Christians were admonished to obey even Idolatrous Magistrates, and they daily offered up Prayers for their Welfare: But these People, that pretend to be so Evangelical, were detested by the Great Turk him-  
self.

self; Forasmuch, said he, as they seem to be  
born for Insurrections. And indeed what a num-  
ber of Tumults have they raised? How often,  
and upon how sleeveless Pretences have they took  
up Arms? — At first Luther was a God with  
them; now they say he doats, because he will  
not receive their new Doctrines about the Eucha-  
rist. — Monks is abolish'd too; but it were  
to be wish'd, that the Friars, together with the  
Cowl, had divested themselves of those Vices  
which are counted to be peculiar to them. —  
How can they, without blushing, call Luther  
their Master, when they chiefly neglect those  
things which he most earnestly taught and incul-  
cated to them? Luther preach'd up the Faith at  
all times; now true Faith, where-ever it be,  
will not remain barren; it works by Love, and  
it produces nothing but what is Good — The  
Love of Riches and of Pleasures was a long time  
in taking Possession of the Popes of Rome, and  
other Bishops; and yet you would Domineer, you  
would be Rich at once — This is the Misfor-  
tune of Humane Affairs, that they begin well,  
but end ill: And I am ashamed to rehearse your  
Beginnings.

In another place he advises how the Reforma-  
tion should be carried on: What the Pope means,  
says he, I know not; but however, I can see,  
that the Intentions of some of your Clergy  
is, since Burning avails so little, to try what  
they can do by Force of Arms. — But the Evil  
would be much more easie to heal, if the Chiefs  
of the Clergy and Laity did sincerely endea-

*vour to restore Gospel-Righteousness. If all Disputes were referr'd to the Decision of a hundred, or of fifty Persons, chosen from among all the rest, and such as were remarkable for a Holy Life, Singular Learning, and Impartial Judgment, what they agreed upon, might be briefly drawn up by a few chosen People. The Systems of Divines should remain in the Schools : Neither should all kinds of Opinions be received as Articles of Faith. Some Doctrines must be quite abolish'd, some turn'd into Exhortations. Above all it ought to be the first Care of Princes and Magistrates, that none should be set over the Lord's Flock, but such are well skill'd in the Word of God, and thoroughly exercised in Teaching, Exhorting, Reproving and Convicting. —*

In another Letter, of which some Fragments only are come to hand, *Erasmus* shows ; what may be endured in the *Romish Church*, and what ought to be amended ; what those who had abolish'd divers things, should have substituted in their place ; as likewise how far we should tolerate one another —

It was also his Opinion, that the *Reformation of Abuses* should not have been made at once nor too hastily, but by degrees. That we should not be in so great haste to dissolve the Order and Frame of Things, as to reform our own particular Lives and Manners. That it should be the Care and Business of Princes to Reform the whole State of the Church ; by which means, Tumults and Insurrections had been prevented. That such a Reformation could not well succeed, unless

was brought about by the Government. He required Prudence in those who attempted to change every thing. On the other hand, he never blamed those who obstinately held every thing, and would part with nothing. He was likewise of Opinion, that People ought not to take away the Use instead of the Abuse of Things; much less, introduce Worse in the place of Better; but to look thro' our Fingers at the Things we cannot amend.

And above all he condemn'd such Reformation as was propagated by Quarrels, Tumults and Seditions; declaring, That he had such an Aversion to Discord, that even Truth itself would be disagreeable to him, if it were to be obtain'd by such Means.

He recommended particularly to all sides the great Medicine of Mutual Toleration, in the following Terms: *It were to be wish'd that this Business (meaning the Reformation) being once set on foot, might be carry'd on with such Temper, that the things which should be found prejudicial to Godliness might be heal'd by wise and proper Methods: That we should be unanimous to promote Godliness, leaving every one to follow his own Conscience, and after having tryed all to hold fast that which appeared best to him. As for Matters that are attended with any Difficulty, and which have not yet been made plain to us, let them be postponed till a more seasonable Future, and in the meantime let Charity and Benevolence prevail among those who are not of the same Mind, till God vouchsafes to reveal those things unto us.*



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In another place he speaks thus : *The principal Part of our Religion is Peace and Unanimity: This can hardly be obtain'd, unless as few things as possible be defin'd and laid down as Articles of Faith, and unless many things be left free to each Man's Judgment ; because they are so very obscure. And this Distemper of the Mind seems to be innate in us, insomuch that it will bear nothing of Yielding. As soon as any Matter comes to be controverted, and the Dispute grows warm, every Body thinks himself bound to Defend what he has Hastily and Unadvisedly Maintain'd.*

Again : *Several Propositions are adjourn'd to the General Council ; but it would be much better to adjourn them to that Time when the Glass and the Obscurity of our Reason, or the Vail being done away, we shall see God Face to Face.*

And when he perceiv'd, that the Church of Rome would not be healed, or hearken to any healing Methods, he cast all his Hope on God. For so he speaks in a certain Letter. *If it be so, that the Wickedness of Mankind has deserv'd to be heal'd by such People, and by such cruel Physicians [meaning Luther] and can not be cured by soft Medicines or Cordial Potions, I hope that God, who has plagued us for our Rebellions, will one Day comfort us upon our Repentance.*

In another Epistle, which he wrote to Duke George of Saxony, he says ; *I had but small Hopes that the Pope and the Princes could have been brought to reasonable Terms, even tho' Luther had possibly yielded any thing : But we have here some Lutherans, of whom there is no hope,*

that they will ever be perswaded to bear Reason. There remains therefore nothing for me to do, but with a pure Conscience to wait for an Opportunity, if I can contribute any thing to the Reformation of the publick Peace; and if it be not allow'd to settle things upon a good Foot, I shall not however forbear pouring out my earnest Prayers to our Lord for that which he sees best for us. Ob! if there would but fly to us, not Minerva's Night-Owl, but the Dove of Christ, and divert the Arrogance of some People to good Purposes! These things I wish for with all my heart. Let which side soever get the better, I, who am departing from hence in a little while, shall have no share in the Victory. But I shall leave this Place with more Satisfaction if I can see the Cause of our Lord Triumphant. Luther has given us a hard and bitter Pill; God grant that, such as it is, it may recover the Health of Christian People, which all Sides have done their utmost to destroy.

Thus Erasmus endeavour'd, as some thought, to Reform the Reformers, and the Reformation itself, like a Christian Gamaliel, giving the best Advice to such as carry'd Matters too far on both Sides, and being well heard by the most Reasonable, but disregarded by none so much as by those who most wanted his Healing Counsels. And thus he battled the Popedom wherever he met with it, receding however no farther from the Church of Rome, nor approaching nearer to Lutheranism. For if, said he, by following Luther thro' all his Ecclesiastical Tumults, we must

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*pass from one Extremity of Evil to another, it were better to endure that to which we had been long accustom'd. Accordingly he departed from Basil and went to Friburg, being unwilling by his Stay to seem to approve of those Disorders that were like to happen in the Alteration of Religion.*

*He inform'd Martin Bucer, that three things had dissuaded him from turning Lutheran: The first was his Conscience, which could not be convinced that the Thing was of God. The Second, that he beheld many in Luther's Flock, that were utter Strangers to the Gospel Sincerity; and Thirdly, because of the great Discord among the Chiefs of this Work. But that nevertheless he would not break Friendship with them, provided they did allow him to differ from them in some Points of Doctrine. This they could not be perswaded to: They who differ'd from them became the Objects of their Hatred: Which seem'd yet more strange to him, because they deny'd Free Will. If God had not communicated to him any Part of that Grace wherewith they boasted themselves to be gifted, they would then have reason to Pray to the Lord for him, but by no means to Hate him.*

*In the Year 1533, he writ at Friburg his Treatise about Restoring Ecclesiastical Unity, upon the Eighty fourth Psalm. It contain'd a certain Project of Uniformity, calculated both for Papists and Protestants: He blam'd many things in both, and show'd that many things were wanting in both. Some Divines of Strasburg translated it*

*into*

into *High-Dutch*, and dispers'd it thro' *Germany*:

But others were offended at it.

After Seven Years Absence he return'd to *Basil* to Print his Book of *the Evangelical Preacher*, and therewith to close his Endeavours of a Reconciliation.

He intended also to have gone into the *Low-Countries*, and at the Request of the Emperor and the Governess, *Mary Queen of Hungary*, to have sat down in *Brabant*; but his old Distemper the Gout, seiz'd him again; however he could not forbear writing during the little Intervals of Ease, till he had compos'd his little Treatise of the *Purity of the Church*, and look'd over *Origen*. After which the Bloody-Flux brought him to his End, which was very Christian and Edifying; for he show'd, that he placed his Hope in Christ, calling out continually, *O Jesu Miserecordia, Domine libera me, Domine fac finem, Domine miserere mei*. And in *High-Dutch*, he cry'd, *Dear God*; being heard to say nothing else, and enjoying his Reason to the last Gasp of his Life. Thus died *Erasmus* in the 70th Year of his Life, and on the 12th of *July*, in the 1536th of our Lord. The Reader will pardon the Digression we have made in favour of so Great a Man.

<sup>2</sup> In the same Month and Year, that we may resume our Account of Persecutions from the Time when we broke off, there were three *Anabaptist* Men and one Woman apprehended and thrown

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<sup>1</sup> *Corpus's Life of Melancth.* p. 296. <sup>2</sup> *Anab. Mart. Book*, p. 117.



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thrown into Prison at *Zierixsee*, and afterwards tormented upon the Rack till the Blood ran down along their Feet ; whether it were that they had been suspected of Sedition, or in Hatred to their Opinions, from which neither Torments nor Death it self could oblige them to recede. On the 4th of *July* they were Beheaded, their Bodies Burnt, and their Heads set upon Stakes.

<sup>1</sup> About the same time, or soon after, *John Van Batenburg* (an Illegitimate Off-spring of that Noble Family) gave out privately, that he was to Restore *John of Leyden's Munsterian Kingdom*, and together with his Followers, who from him were call'd *Batenburghers*, did a great deal of Mischief. *David Joris*, a Teacher among the *Anabaptists* endeavour'd to unite these *Munsterians*, who, perceiving the Sword to be too hard for them, disclaim'd all Use of it as unlawful, with *Hofman's Party*. And in a certain Assembly, holden by them at *Book-Holt*, in this Year, he brought about a Treaty of Peace among them, leaving every body free in his own Opinions, upon the following foot: *Forasmuch as the respective Parties were of one and the same Sentiment in many, and the chiefest Doctrines of the Anabaptists, and that the Difference did only consist in two Points ; they were to forbear on all sides from Quarrels and Animosities, and in the mean while to pray, that God would enlighten them under these Doubts, and shew them the Way to Unity. Furthermore they were*

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<sup>1</sup> Ub. Ex. L. LVII. p. 893. Cassand. op. p. 672.

to abstain from all kind of Revenge, and openly to condemn the Retaliation of Injuries, the passing Sentence and Punishing capitally either guilty or accused Persons. And lastly, to restore the Use of Re-baptism, which the Battenburghers had for a while laid aside, to such as appeared worthy of it.

Afterwards this David Joris publish'd a little Book, in which he handled the Points in Difference, in such a Manner as to accommodate the Diversity of Opinions between both Parties; but by this means he drew upon himself the Hatred of both, and they suspected him and others of having something else in view ever after these Proposals. But his Friends were of Opinion, that it happen'd to him as to most other Peacemakers; that where they deserv'd the greatest Thanks, they receiv'd the least.

In the Year 1537, an Anabaptist Cabinet-maker was put to Death at *Kassel* in *Flanders*.

On the 2d of *January* 1538, it was declared by a Placard thro' all *Holland*: That none should dare to harbour David Jorison and Mainard van Embden, Teachers among the Anabaptists, on pain of being hanged at their own Door; But that whoever discover'd them, should receive a Reward of one Hundred Guilders for each of the aforesaid Persons, and forty Guilders for any other Anabaptist. The same Placard was renew'd on the 27th of *February*.

In the two Months aforementioned, there were several Persons put to Death at *Delf*, who indeed are

\* Ib. p. 895.

are rank'd among the Anabaptist Martyrs, but without sufficient Cause, with respect to some of them, who before their Death confess'd some things that serv'd to open a new Scene of Affairs. *Henry Kool* of *Gelder*, at his Execution maintain'd, that the Holy Ghost rested upon *David Joris*, and that his Writings were the Effect of a Divine Inspiration; but added, that he did not believe that the said *David* ever intended to plunder Towns and Villages, or to promote his Affairs by Violence. *Damas Jacobs* of *Leyden*, beheaded the same Day, said, he believed that *Henry Kool* had two Wives, forasmuch as they always lay together in one Bed. *Herman van Kelder* and *Thomas Gerritson* of *Lokkum*, being likewise executed in the same manner, profess'd, that People ought to abstain from their Wives whilst they were Pregnant; but that in the mean while they were at liberty to converse with other Women. *Geert Cornelis*, Wife of *Francis Philipson*, own'd, in such Expressions as no Paper ought to be defiled with, how these Brothers and Sisters mingled promiscuously, without any regard to the holy State of Matrimony; and at their Feasts and Meals, stript themselves stark naked, with as little regard to Shame and Modesty, saying; *That they had entirely mortified the Flesh, insomuch, that they could appear naked before each other with no more Concern than Adam and Eve whilst in the State of Innocency.* These Persons were all of them put into Sacks and drown'd, and then taken up and buried under the Gallows. The Mother of *David Joris*

was

was likewise put to Death about the same time, notwithstanding she declared an hearty Sorrow for suffering herself to be Re-baptiz'd. Being question'd about her Son, she said ; *That he led a very godly Life, aiming at nothing but an humble Imitation of his Lord, and doing no Evil to any one. That the Hague had been set on Fire, and much more Mischiefs done, if so be he had not binder'd it.* She added, *That by his Writings the Name and Will of God had been so greatly manifested to the Christian World, that nothing like it had ever yet been done by any Person upon Earth ; in which she rejoiced very much.* But the Government had very different Sentiments of the said *Foris*, and endeavour'd to set him fast. This Man, for it is not improper to give some short Account in this place of his Life and Doctrine, was a skillful Artist in Glass-painting ; he was born at *Delf* of very mean Parents, who were not able to give him any manner of Education ; insomuch, that he knew no other Language but that of his own Country ; but according to the Account which <sup>1</sup> *Thuanus*, *Pontanus*, and others give of him, he was very Self-conceited, but Cunning, and a Hypocrite as to Matters of Religion. We find in a Book of the City of *Delf*, in which several Confessions and Informations are registred, that he was Baptiz'd by the Name of *John* ; but travelling about the Country with his Father, who was a Stroling Comedian, he commonly acted the Part of *David*

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<sup>1</sup> *Thuan. Lib. 22. p. 1002. Pontan. Hist. Amst. p. 43.*



*vid*, and ever after kept that Name. Some time before the great Fire at *Delf*, which happen'd in the Year 1536, meeting the Priests that carried in Procession *the* (so called) *Sacrament of the Altar*, he rebuked them publicly, telling them, they were guilty of Idolatry. Whereupon being apprehended, he narrowly escaped Death thro' the favour of some of the Magistrates; but the Member that had offended was condemn'd, and forced to suffer the following Punishment: To be bored thro' with an Awl openly upon a Scaffold, and then the Owner of it to be banish'd for ever. At first he acquired some Reputation with those that had an Aversion to Popery, by making and publishing Hymns and Songs about Scriptural Matters: and quitting his Trade of Glas-painting, he attempted, as it is thought, to make a more profitable one of Religion. In this same Year 1538, one *Richard Vincent*, a Brewer at *Delf*, gave in the following Charge to the Magistrates against the said *David Joris*; namely, that he had said to one *Laurence Riihertson* a Brother Glas-painter; *Laurence, we see that the Clergy are in brave Business, and get a deal of Money with little Pains. We have read the Scripture as well as they. Let us likewise undertake something about Religion. And if we can get so far, that People will believe all we tell 'em, we shall have got far, and rich enough.* His being in so great Esteem with the *Munsterian Anabaptists* (after that *Ubbo Philips* had ordain'd him a Teacher among those of that Sect in *Delf*) brought him first into great Hatred. Some

Some of the 26 Apostles, whom the *King of the Anabaptists* had sent out to enlarge his Kingdom, had asserted, That <sup>1</sup> since Christ's Time four Prophets were arisen, two True ones, *John of Leyden* and *David of Delf*; and two False ones, the *Pope of Rome* and *Martin Luther*.

<sup>2</sup> It is likewise reported, that he had received some Money from the King to raise Forces in *Friesland* and elsewhere, for the Delivery of *Munster*. But that Kingdom being at an end, and he having in vain endeavour'd to gather together the scatter'd Limbs of his Sect, as has been related, he betook himself to other Methods: He separated himself by degrees from his old Friends, and establish'd, but very craftily and privately, a Sect of his own, which cleaved to him, and by which he made much Gains. That he might carry on his Design with the greater Secrecy, he went from *Holland* to *Basil*, and settled there as one that was banish'd out of his Country for the sake of his Religion; whereupon they made him Free of that City, and, according to custom, he took an Oath to the Government, under the Name of *John of Brug*, which was the place of his Father's Birth, as also *van Binnengen*, from a certain Castle which he had purchased, with other Lands, about the said City. He pretended himself in Matters of Religion to be intirely of the Sect of the *Zwinglians*, which was the prevailing Party at *Basil*. He diligently frequented their Sermons and Communion.

<sup>1</sup> Hortens. Hist. Anab. p. 36. <sup>2</sup> Pontan. Hist. Amst. p. 43.

munion. He was very obedient to the Magistracy, bountiful to the Poor, a Comforter of the Sick, and a Supporter of those in Distress. This was the reason that no body could willingly entertain any Suspicion of him, and that many held him for as Good, and as Rich a Man, as he endeavour'd to personate. He was also the more respected for his Noble Presence and Handsome Mien; and those great Riches and Jewels which he daily received from the *Low-Countries*, render'd him yet more esteem'd. His OEconomy, or House-keeping, was little less than princely, but very regular. That he might conceal himself the better, he took care of three things: First, that none of his Relations should mention publicly the Name of *David Joris*, which was but too well known in *Holland* and *Friesland*. Secondly, he forbade them to own what his Profession or Business had been in his own Country; by which means some took him for a Person of high Birth, but that he had his Reasons for concealing his Quality. Others thought him a great and rich Merchant, that carried on his Trade by Sea and Land by his Agents and Factors. But thirdly, and above all, he avoided tampering with, and converting any of the People of *Basil*, or the Confederate Cantons of *Swisserland*, to his own Sect, while at the same time he propagated it by Letters, Books and Messengers in *Holland*.

Thus he continued mask'd and disguised for the space of eleven Years at *Basil*, till *Nicolaus Meinerts* of *Bleesdiik*, his best beloved Disciple

to whom he had married his Daughter, began to doubt of his Doctrine, and next, to oppose it. There came likewise some Body from *Holland* about the same time, that gave so clear an account of him and his Followers to the Towns-People, that thro' reflecting on the Danger and Consequences of being found out, he fell into Despair, and that Despair brought both him and his Wife into such a Sickness, as carried her off first, and him soon after.

Such was the End of one, who as *Thuanus* says, brought a Contempt and Disgrace upon Christ, as far as in him lay, by giving out, that he was greater, more Divine, and not less Immortal than Christ himself. He was interred with much Pomp and State.

The principal Tenets ascrib'd to him, are these: <sup>2</sup> *That the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament was imperfect and unprofitable; but his, on the contrary, perfect and sufficient to bring those that embraced it, to Salvation: That he was the Real Christ and the Messiah, the beloved Son of the Father; not born of the Flesh, but of the Holy Ghost, and of the Spirit of Jesus Christ; which Spirit of Christ, when his Flesh was destroyed, had hitherto been hid by God the Father in a certain Place unknown to all the Saints, and now pour'd out upon him, David Joris, wholly, and united to his Soul. That he was to Restore the House of Israel, and the true Children of Levi, namely, all those that embraced his Do-*  

Q ctrine,

<sup>1</sup> Thuan. p. 1003. <sup>2</sup> Thuan. p. 1004. and Pontan. p. 43.



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*ctrine, and built up the true Tabernacle of God; but not like the First Christ, by suffering Contradictions, Cross or Death; but by Meekness and Gentleness, and Love of the Holy Ghost, and by that Grace which the Father had given him: That he had the Power of Saving and Damning, of Forgiving or Retaining Sins; on which Account he should Judge the whole World at the Last Day. That Christ was sent by the Father, and come into the Flesh, to keep Men in Awe and Order by his Doctrine, and by the Ceremonies of the Sacraments, which were then calculated for them as Children and Little Ones, and not yet prepared to receive the perfect Doctrine, till he, David Joris, should come and bring to Light the perfect and powerful Doctrine. That he was that Least of whom Christ spake, when he said, the Least in the Kingdom of Heaven was greater than John the Baptist. That all Sins committed against the Father and Son were forgiven, but not those against the Holy Ghost, that is, against him, David Joris. That Marriage was free, and none were thereby bound to one Wife only; for which reason the Begetting of Children was to be in common to such as were regenerate by his Spirit.*

Notwithstanding all his Boastings of the Spirit, it is recorded of him, that he deny'd the Flesh no kind of Gratifications in private. His Books in which some pretended to discover Heavenly

Mysteries, were look'd upon by others to be so obscure and confused, that they seem'd rather like Idle Tales than Rational Discourses. Nevertheless he perswaded himself and his Followers (being so puffed up with the Hopes of Regenerating the whole World) that his *Wonder-Book*, which was the Name he gave his own Writings, being perused by Divines, Lawyers, Magistrates, Kings and Princes, would so effectually convince them all of his great Wisdom, that they would cry out with Admiration in the words of the Prophet *Isaiab*, ch. 25. v. 9. *Lo! this is our God, we have waited for him, and he will save us.* He expected that Princes should have sent Ambassadors, or come themselves to him, to offer up to him their own Persons and all that belong'd to them.

His Death did very much stagger his Disciples, but there still remain'd a Hope among many of them, that he should rise again in three Years, and then accomplish what he had so often promised. But he was within that time taken out of his Grave, and, together with his Books and his Picture, burnt to Ashes, by Order of the Magistrates, at the Place of Execution without the Walls of *Basil*. This happen'd on the 13th of May 1559; His Doctrines having been first extracted from the printed Books and MS. Papers found in his House, and himself declared an Arch-Heretick. This is the Story of *David Foris*, as it has been transmitted to us by the

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Pens

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Pens of *Thuanus* and other Eminent and Credible Persons. But his Followers and some of his Friends pretend, that those Writers have been imposed upon by wrong Accounts in several Particulars: That the Hatred of some had painted him in false Colours: That some Testimonies against him had been extorted by Torments: That Slander and Suspicion had disguis'd, and caus'd to be believ'd, divers Reports of him concerning things which he had never said nor done, but always detested, particularly with respect to his Doctrine of Polygamy: That his Books, if rightly understood, shew'd the contrary of what they accused him. But how far these Excuses have any Foundation on his Dark and Perplex'd Writings, we submit to the Judgment of unbiass'd Persons.

In the Year 1538, from whence we have been thus far led out of our Way by the History of this Man, there were about seventeen Persons murder'd for the sake of Religion in the *Low-Countries*, among the rest <sup>1</sup> a Pastor of the Town of *Douay*, <sup>2</sup> a Lay-man at *Mechelen*, <sup>3</sup> a Woman at *Bois le Duc*, <sup>4</sup> as also nine Anabaptist Men and three Women, and <sup>5</sup> two young Lads at a place call'd *Vinderbout* near *Gant*, of the same Sect.

In the Year 1539, there were put to Death at *Delf* one and thirty Anabaptists, that had fled from *England*; the Men beheaded, and the Women

<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> Hist. des Martyrs, f. 113, & 356. Bor's Descript. of Bois le Duc, p. 21. <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> Hist. Anab. Mart. p. 120. &c.

Women drown'd. <sup>1</sup> At Rotterdam another Woman; <sup>2</sup> at Munnikedam in North-Holland, a Man and his Wife with their eldest Son, all on account of Anabaptism. <sup>3</sup> A certain House-keeper at Harlingen in Friesland was apprehended, carried to Leeuwarden and there put to death for harbouring Menno Simonson, from whom most of the Anabaptists in these Countries have since been called *Mennists* or *Menonites*. He seem'd to have been, <sup>4</sup> as Cardinal Hosius writes, more learned than the rest of the Anabaptists. <sup>5</sup> Being a Priest he preach'd up Popery with great Zeal, first at his Fathers Village called Pinningum, afterwards in the place of his own Birth Witmarsum, between Harlingen and Bolswert. <sup>6</sup> He then set himself with no less Zeal to oppose the Munsterian Tumults, but soon after joyn'd himself to the Disorderly Anabaptists, and endeavour'd to stir up the Remnant of the *Munsterians*; for many of those who attempted to establish the Kingdom of Israel at Munster, Oud-Clooster and Amsterdam, were simple innocent People, whom the Persecutions having caus'd no doubt of the Popish Religion, and the great Boastings of Divine Inspirations perverted, were become sensible of their Mistakes, after the ill success of all those Insurrections, and dispos'd to follow those that should instruct them better. <sup>7</sup> Ubbo Philips had ordain'd Menno at Groningen, at the Request of the Brethren and sent him out

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<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> Hist. Anab. Mart. p. 120, 922. Cassand. op. p. 455, &c.  
<sup>4</sup> In Lib. de Hæresib. nostri <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> Chron. Twisk. p. 1067.  
<sup>7</sup> Confession of Ubbo Philips.  
 comp. p. 22. Ub. Em. p. 892, Hof. ib.



to Preach. But when this Sender afterwards disapprov'd his Mission, and signify'd the same to *Menno* and others whom he had brought to the Ministry, owning his Error, that he might deliver his Soul in the sight of God, as he says in his Confession ; *Menno* despised the Revocation, and went on, pretending an higher Call, and using this Language, as *Hosius* informs us : *Affuredly, O Heavenly Father, I cannot be deceiv'd in this Matter by thy Word. I have receiv'd and believ'd it by the Holy Spirit, as a sure Word of Truth. And again : I know certainly and positively, that by this my Doctrine, which is the Word of God, I shall Judge not only Lords and Princes, not only the World, but even the Angels themselves.* He did his utmost however (this the Writer of *the Beginning of the Schism among the Anabaptists*, says in his Praise) with a Sincere and honest Heart, according to what he had learnt and understood in the Scriptures, faithfully to instruct those that were Zealous for Salvation, and to teach 'em by Word and Writing ; to Baptize such as were dispos'd and desirous of the same, to gather them into one Communion, and to separate them from others. As to the Differences that afterwards arose among those of his own Party, he endeavour'd at the first to steer in the middle Way, and maintain'd that Peace and Mutual Forbearance ought to be practis'd, without offering any Violence to Tender Consciences ; but in process of Time, when Narrowness of Soul and a Persecuting Temper prevail'd among them, he suffer'd him-

self to be carried away into their Views by the Majority, as we shall show in its proper place. And he was still more warm against those that forsook Popery, but did not joyn with him, being of different Sentiments, particularly concerning the Incarnation of our Lord, Oaths, Infant-baptism, and the Power of the Magistrate. The *Lutherans* were stiled by him, with respect to their Irregular Lives, a Large and a Free Sect; the *Zwinglians*, with respect to their Doctrines, an Abominable Sect. Thus he speaks in his Works or Great Summary: *I admonish you in Jesus Christ, believe it as you will; both you and our other Adversaries (meaning Martin Miero, and Johannes a Lasco) have deceiv'd your own poor Souls; for your Doctrine is a true Vapour ascending from the bottomless Pit, which obscures the Noble and Clear Light of Jesus Christ and of his Holy Word. It is the Lees of the old Serpent, yea 'tis the Spawn thereof: If one eat it, he will die; if one tread upon it, an Adder will come forth—— In short it is the horrid Drink of Abomination in the fine golden Cup of that blood-thirsty Babilonish Woman wherewith she intoxicates all the Inhabitants of the Earth.*

On the 27th of September another Placard was publish'd in *Holland*, whereby all Preaching out of Parish Churches, the Converts of the Begging Orders and the Hospitals, was forbid. At the same time the Court of *Holland* writ the following Letter:

P 4

To

<sup>2</sup> Grotius's *Apology or Defence*, in Dutch, — VI. 55.

*To the Count of HOOGSTRAET, &c.*

*Honourable and Good Friends,*

“ **F**Orasmuch as through the Diversity of  
 “ Preaching, and from the Preachers men-  
 “ tioning in their Sermons several obscure and  
 “ difficult Matters, which the Common People  
 “ are not able to understand ; and by reason of  
 “ their Preaching, Crying and Railing against  
 “ each other, great Murmurings arise among  
 “ the People : We being desirous to prevent the  
 “ same, do hereby require and command you,  
 “ in the Name of his Imperial Majesty, stric-  
 “ ly to charge all Pastors, Chaplains and others,  
 “ that come to preach in your Jurisdictions, that  
 “ they forbear to vent in their Sermons any ob-  
 “ scure Matters, or such as may give Offence  
 “ to the People ; nor that they take any Occa-  
 “ sion of Reviling and Slandering their Superi-  
 “ ors and others ; but expound upon the Epi-  
 “ stle or Gospel of the Day, according to the  
 “ Interpretation and Comments of the ancient  
 “ approved Doctors, censuring Vice and the  
 “ like ; and that they forbear Preaching and In-  
 “ veighing against each other in the Pulpit.  
 “ And in case they should hear others broach-  
 “ ing Doctrines that are Heterodox or Scanda-  
 “ lous, they should admonish them thereof in  
 “ private ; or else inform the Magistrate or us  
 “ concerning the same. We recommend you,  
 “ Honourable and Good Friends, to the Favour  
 “ of God.

*Dated from the Hague, 27 Septemb. 1539.*

WHEN the Emperor afterwards came into the Low-Countries, in the Year 1540, in order to quell the Insurrection at *Gant*, the Importunity of the Monks and other Clergy-men had so much weight with him, that there was another Edict granted against Heresie and Heretical Books, which was dated from *Brussels*, the 22d of September. It contain'd not only the Substance of the former Placards, but past 'em into a perpetual Law, in which there was no Distinction made between Anabaptists and all kind of Hereticks,

By the said Law it is enacted and declared; *That from the very Time that such Hereticks fell into their Errors, they should be ipso facto incapable of disposing of their Estates; and that all Alienations, Gifts, Cessions, Sales and Conveyances, and all Bequests and Legacies made by the Last Will and Testament of such Persons, should become null and void.* And to prevent the Conventicles and Meetings of these People, it was added, *That whoever should discover or inform against those that kept such Conventicles, if he were one of the same Sect, he should be excused for that time for having been among them, nor should be obnoxious to any of the Penalties on that Account — And forasmuch as some of the said Hereticks and Anabaptists, upon their being accused and summon'd to answer the same, had either fled their Country, or conceal'd themselves in it, so that no other Process or proper Punishment could take effect against them, save only*  
*Banish-*



Banishment ; but when they heard that their Accomplices and Fellows were either dead or brought to Justice, by which means the Scout or Criminal Officer was unable to prove them Re-baptiz'd or guilty of other Acts of Heresie, they thereupon presume to petition for a Trial, in order to purge themselves of their supposed Crimes ; and thus the Justice of the Land is brought into Contempt, and the said Hereticks become so bold, as to return home and propagate their Errors—Wherefore, to obviate all these Evils, it is prohibited by this Placard, to allow any manner of Leave to the Persons described as above, to sue out their Pardon, and to return and remain in the Nation.

And it is yet further declared, That all such Persons who either conceal themselves from Justice, or fly for their Crimes, shall be deem'd as actually outlaw'd.

To the Books mention'd and forbidden by former Placards, several others were added, particularly certain Hymns, that had been allow'd to be sung before by publick Authority.

It was moreover required thereby, That the said Placard should be publish'd a-new every six Months, upon St. John Baptist's Day, and Christmas Eve, and the Officer neglecting the same, should forfeit for the first time ten Gold Carolus Guilders ; for the second, twenty ; and the third time, his Place or Office, without any further Notice, and his said Place should be actually vacant.

It likewise declares ; *That altho' such Publication should happen not to be made, yet those that were guilty of a Breach of this Law, should be punish'd with the Penalties therein mention'd, without delay, and without being excused on pretence of Ignorance.*

Finally, the said Placard commands, *That all the aforesaid Points be inviolably and for ever observed, according to the Form and Contents thereof: Proceeding against all Transgressors with the utmost Rigour---without any Mercy--- Notwithstanding any Appeal made, or to be made, or any Privilege, Law, Statute, Custom or Usage to the contrary: Which, says the Emperor, we shall not allow to obtain in these Cases; having, out of our certain Knowledge, Authority and Absolute Power, hereby derogated from the same.* At the Bottom of this Placard it was said ; *By the Emperor in Council: And sign'd,*

*Verreiken.*

This Placard was follow'd with a Grievous Persecution. At *Louvain* there was a general Search made in Houses for *Forbidden Books*, which occasion'd great Terror, Lamentations and Flights. Thereupon eight and twenty Persons were put in Prison, among whom were two Chaplains of *St Peter's Church*; but one of them made his Escape, and t'other Recanted. Two Men of the Laity were burnt, and two Women buried alive. How it fared with the rest that were taken up, does not appear.

At *Vilvode* near *Antwerp*, on the 11th of *February*, in the Year 1541, an Anabaptist was burnt

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burnt, after he had been kept in Prison three Years. We likewise find that four more of the same Sect were martyr'd at *Enkhuysen*, but it is not said when.

In the Year 1542, there were two Men and two Women put to Death for Heresie at *Douray*, at several times, the first by Fire, the second by the Sword, and the two last by the Pit. In April of the same Year, two Men and three Women were Massacred at *Bois le Duc*.

<sup>1</sup> In *Holland* some of the Judges did so thirst after the Blood of Hereticks, that they had no regard to Women big with Child; insomuch, that some when they were just expiring, were deliver'd of their Children; <sup>2</sup> and others were either burnt or drown'd, tho' near their Time. <sup>3</sup> We have likewise an Account of eight Men and two Women Anabaptists that died in *Amsterdam* by the Hands of the Executioner. <sup>4</sup> On the 29th of December, of this Year, died *Albertus Pigbius* of *Kampen*, Canon of *St. John's Church* at *Utrecht*, a Person of uncommon Learning, who had done great Service to the Church of *Rome* by his Writings against *Bucer* and others. He likewise propos'd Means for accommodating the Differences, and restoring the Peace of the Church, but I could never meet with the Book in which they were contain'd.

<sup>5</sup> In the Year 1543, there were 28 or 30 Persons of both Sexes burnt at *Louvain*, upon the account of Religion. The

<sup>1</sup> Hist. des Martyrs, f. 119, & 126.

<sup>2</sup> Annotat. of the Treaty of Peace at Cologn, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> Anab. Mart. p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. des Martyrs, p. 92.

The better to find out and cause to be apprehended those that preach'd against Popery, they caus'd their Pictures to be drawn, and set up at the Gates of the City and other publick Places, and offer'd Sums of Money to such as could take them.

1 In *Friesland*, besides the Reward of 100 Guilders that was offer'd for seizing *Menno*, a Pardon was promis'd, if the Person was one of his Accomplices, together with the Emperor's Favour, and Freedom of the Country.

2 In the Year 1544, *Joost Jusberg* was beheaded at *Brussels* for having abandon'd the Popish Religion.

*Giles Tielman* of *Amsterdam* was burnt there for having advis'd a certain Gentlewoman to give that Money to the Poor which she had bequeath'd to the Clergy, and because the Sick, whom he often visited, despised the Service of the Priests; and lastly, because he would not discover his Fellow Hereticks, tho' put to the Rack for that Purpose. 3 It is reported of him, that he used to fall into such Ecstasies in his Prayers, that he neither saw nor heard those that spoke to him at such times.

4 There was a certain Burgher at *Deventer*, nam'd *Jorian Ketel* (a Friend and Follower of *David Joris*, that had Printed the said *David's Wonder-Book*) taken up by Order of the Count of *Buren*, Stadtholder of *Friesland* and *Over-*

1 Twisk's Cron. p. 1104.

2 Amyrant. Morale Christi,

3 Hist. des Martyrs, f. 120. p. 346.

4 Ub. Emm. Lib. 59.



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*Overissel*. He had been accused and discover'd by one of the *Battenburghers*, who being carried to *Leyden* and tortured, brought into Trouble a great many People that were indeed Anabaptists, but not of his Sect, for which reason he had conceiv'd a mortal Aversion to 'em. He confess'd he was of *David Joris's* Sect; that he had travell'd and intimately convers'd with him, and knew all his Affairs; that he had read and copied and caused his Books to be printed, and had dispers'd them in several Countries, and that it griev'd him he had not made them yet more known. Moreover, that it was above eleven Years that he had been Rebaptiz'd. That his first Wife had been drown'd at *Utrecht* for the same Fact. He was by Order of the Court of *Brussels* put to the Rack four or five times, to make him discover more Accomplices of *David Joris*, by which means his Body was quite disabled, but he would name no body besides those that liv'd at *Emdden* and in *East-Friesland*. The Court gave order that he should be Beheaded, but the *Burghermasters* did not agree to it, some of 'em endeavouring to save him. Thereupon they put off the Execution till the Nobles and Deputies of the Cities were assembled; when the *Secon* laid before them a Paper written by one Doctor *Jerom Wilhelmus* of *Groningen*, of the Evangelical or *Lutheran* Perswasion, with this Declaration: This is done by an Evangelical Doctor who has born this Testimony of this Sect, to the end, that no Hatred may be brought upon it. After he had lain in Prison twelve Weeks,

was condemn'd to Death. When he was heard before the Assembly, he said among other things, *That David Joris had taught him nothing but Good; namely the Word of God, and confirm'd to him all his Doctrines from the Divine Writings; and taught him how to slay the Old Man with his evil Desires.* Whilst he was under Confinement he writ something to his Children by way of his Last Will, which was afterwards made publick; it was fill'd with Godly Counsels, and with Tokens of Patience and Meekness. After he had heard the Sentence against him, he took off his Cap and said: *The Lord be blessed and praised for ever!*

He went with great Chearfulness to the Place of Execution on the 9th of *August*, crying out to the By-standers: *My Dear and Worthby Fellow Citizens, I beseech you for the Love of God, don't think the worse of me for appearing so Joyful, for I can't contain myself; I must rejoyce in my God who is so favourable to me.* When he was come to the Scaffold where he was to be Beheaded, he gave Thanks to God, that he was found worthy to suffer for his Name, saying; *O God if it were but possible that I might rise immediately after this Death, and dye once again for this Truth of the God of Heaven! thou knowest O Lord that I would do it with Joy and Pleasure.* Finally, he testify'd his Faith in God and Jesus Christ, and that it was founded upon the Doctrine of the Apostles and Prophets; and the same thing he witness'd of *David Joris*, and was willing to seal that Testimony with his Blood.

Blood. The Scout answering thereupon; *David Joris, is the Vilest Heretick on Earth; Jor-  
rian cry'd out; The Day of the Lord will shew  
whether you or I are in the right.* Then he  
kneeled down, recommending his Soul to God,  
and receiv'd the Fatal Stroke with an intrepid  
Mind, in the 33d Year of his Life.

The Death of this Man increas'd the Num-  
ber of *David Joris's* Disciples; nor does it ap-  
pear that *Jorian Ketel* had learn'd any thing but  
Good from this Master. And some were like-  
wise of Opinion, that the good Qualities of this  
one Disciple of his, justify'd the Master in eve-  
ry thing; but others were of a different Mind.

In *Holland* there was another Placard issued on  
the 27th of *January*, against Harboursing such as  
fled on account of Heresie, or concealing their  
Effects.

The People of *Wesel* had publickly advertised,  
that at the approaching *Easter* they would open  
a School. This was done without Leave either  
from the Pope or Emperor; whereupon, by a  
Placard publish'd at *Brussels* on the 7th of *March*,  
the Inhabitants of these Countries were forbid-  
den to Trade or have any Dealings with the said  
Town (where many Anabaptists, and such as  
were infected with other Heresies, as the Placard  
stiles it, came and dwelt) or to send their Chil-  
dren, Nephews, Brothers and other Relations  
and Friends, that were under their Care and Go-  
vernment, on pain of being esteem'd Hereticks,  
and punish'd as such, according to the Tenor of  
divers Placards.

At *Harlem*, on the first of *July*, two Women were drown'd on account of Religion; and two more at *Delden* were burnt in *November*, but they were Anabaptists. Two Men of the same Sect were likewise beheaded at *Amsterdam*, one of whom was 87 years of Age; their Quarters were laid upon Wheels, and their Heads set on Stakes. At *Rotterdam*, about the same time, a whole Assembly of those People was betray'd, and all that could be catch'd were put to Death; the Men were Beheaded, and the Women thrown into a Boat, thrust under the Ice, and so Drown'd.

On the last of *November* the Emperor granted Power to the Bishop of *Utrecht*, by his Letters Patent, to apprehend and secure by his Vicars and other Officers, all such Priests and other Clergymen, being under his Jurisdiction, as were infected with Heresie; and to proceed against them according to Law, saving his Majesty's Prerogative, and the Privileges of the Land.

At *Gant*, upon the 18th of *December*, there was another Placard published in relation to the printing and Dispersing Heretical Books; the substance of which was: *Whoever presum'd to print any thing without Licence, tho' it should contain nothing of Heresie in it, should be Banish'd for ever, and moreover forfeit 300 Carols Gilders. Nor might any one Print any kind of Books, Pamphlets, or the like in Italian, Spanish, English or other Languages, which were not commonly understood, under the same Penalties. All Printers having obtain'd Privileges,*

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were



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were required to place the Contents in the beginning of the Book, and to express the Name of the Secretary from whom they had receiv'd such Privileges; otherwise such Book should be deem'd to be printed without Leave, and the Printer condemn'd to the above-mention'd Penalties. None were allow'd to Print, Sell, or have in their Possession any Books, without the Name of the Author, Printer or Place where such Books were publish'd; and the Punishment of such Offence was to be as before said. Whoever should be discover'd to have sold, or to have in his Shop any Books without a Privilege in the Front of them, should every time forfeit fifty Guilders. No Body might sell, or have in his Shop above three Days, any Books printed in foreign Parts, without delivering a Catalogue of 'em to the Officer of the Place where he kept his Shop, under the like Penalty. And the Officer of that Place where any Books were sold, was obliged twice a Year, that is to say, eight Days before Christmas, and eight Days before St. John's-mas, and at such other times as he thought fit himself, to visit all Booksellers - Shops, take Inventories of their Books, and to consult any Learned Persons about them; and in case he finds among them any suspected Books, then to proceed against the Printers or Sellers according to the Placards; whereof if he the said Officer should fail, he should forfeit his Place and become liable to Arbitrary Correction. Whoever should refuse to let the Officer search his Shop or House, should forfeit a Hundred Guilders, and moreover be still obliged to undergo

dergo such a Search. And all this to be done effectually, notwithstanding any Privilege, Liberty or Exemption to the contrary. Nor likewise any Difference of Jurisdiction, which We, says the Emperor (for the sake of the Common-Weal, and for avoiding all Dangers and Inconveniencies, especially considering how much the Faith of Holy Church may be thereby affected) will not suffer to be maintain'd or pretended, so as to prevent the Execution of this our Placard.

In another Edict at Gant, bearing the same Date with the foregoing, the Emperor says: Forasmuch as We are fully inform'd, That notwithstanding former Placards, that Sects, Errors and Heresies do still continue, and that the Cause thereof does in some measure proceed from hence, That the Pastors and Curates (who like good Shepherds are bound to take care of their Flocks) be Men of evil Lives, and that by their Ignorance, Illiterateness and Scandalous Manners, they give very bad Examples to those that are under them and others; not knowing what a Good Pastor, Parish-Priest and Curate is obliged to know, in order to govern Souls: And which is worse, That those who do not reside in their Parishes and Cures, and do only seek their own Temporal Advantage, don't regard to whom they commit the Charge of Souls in their Absence, provided that they may enjoy the most Profit. And that which is yet worst of all, intrusting their Flocks to Regade Monks, some of whom, by Dispensation, and others without it, have left their Habit, Convent and Religious Profession —

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Hereupon all Officers were required to make a Return, within the space of 14 Days, to the Courts of Justice, and by them to *Queen Mary* the Regent, of the Christian and Sur-names of all Parish-Priests, and of their Common Fame and Reputation, as also of their Manners, Abilities and Qualifications, distinguishing between those that held Benefices in their own Right, from such as were Curates or Stipendary Preachers, and how much the Rector enjoy'd and how much his Curate or Vicar, and whether the one or the other had formerly been a Monastick Person, but now thrown off the Habit; and if by Dispensation, they were to transmit a Copy of the same —

If the Officers fail'd in any of these Points, they forfeited their Places, and were moreover liable to Arbitrary Correction.

<sup>1</sup> In this same Year, but <sup>2</sup> others say, 'twas in 1541, died at *Louvain*, *Allard* of *Amsterdam*, who upon the Account of his Learning and Eloquence was in great Esteem with our *Erasmus*, as also with *Peter Mannius*, *Conrad Goclenius* and *Lodovicus Vives*. This *Allard* did not scruple, tho' he continued in the Romish Communion, to point at several things which he thought were blame-worthy in the Behaviour of the Clergy. In his Admonitions and Exhortations relating to Alms-giving, in which he does not treat *Luther* very favourably, he shows, that the Distribution of the Church's Treasure belong'd formerly to the

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<sup>1</sup> Pontan. Amsterd. 237. <sup>2</sup> Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. 129.

the Deacons, whose Care extended it self chiefly to the Poor; and thereupon he makes the following Wish: *Would to God, that the Church of this Age were blest with such Deacons, to whom might be committed the Administration of Holy things.* Yea he charged the Bishops and all the rest of the Clergy with Sacrilege, for converting the Goods of the Church, and of the Poor to their own Property and Convenience; whereas they ought not to share in any more of it, than was absolutely necessary for their own Wants. He was naturally hard of Hearing, but smooth of Speech, which made *Erasmus* say, that the Deficiency of his Ears was supplied by the Redundancy of his Tongue. <sup>1</sup> He gave his Books by his Last Will to the Poor Orphans of *Amsterdam*, and composed the following Epitaph for his Grave-Stone:

*Tota tegit Tellus quem Tellus tota vocatur.*

alluding to his Name, which signifies *all Earth*.

Canon *Jacobus Latomus*, Doctor and Professor of Divinity at *Louvain*, came to a much worse End, on the 29th of *May* of the same Year. At first he was well enough disposed to receive the Truths of the Reformation, but changing on a sudden, he did all that was in his power to suppress the same. <sup>2</sup> He writ against *Erasmus*, <sup>3</sup> *Luther*, *Oecolampadius* and *Tyndal*. But one time ascending the Pulpit at *Brussels*, to preach

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<sup>1</sup> Val. Andr. ib.

<sup>2</sup> Val. Andr. ib. p. 416. E-

<sup>3</sup> Franc. Junius, of the Judgments of God, &c. Ch. XIX. ras. Epist. p. 343.



before the Emperor, he was so daunted, that he could not utter his Words to be understood, and the whole Congregation fell a Laughing at him. Hereupon he return'd immediately to *Louvain*, and what with the Shame of this Accident, and the Reflecting upon what he had done against his Conscience, he fell into Despair. In his Lessons he often dropt Expressions signifying that he had fought against the Truth; to smother which, his own Friends shut him up in his House, where he died Despairing; crying out frequently: *That he was Damned; that he was rejected by God; that he could not hope for Salvation nor Pardon, having presumptuously fought against God.*

*Peter Brully*, a Preacher at *Straßburg*, who serv'd occasionally the Communities of the *Walloon-Netherlanders*, that had separated from Popery, made some Months after, in the Year 1544, a very different End. He continued stedfastly in the Confession of that Doctrine, which he conceiv'd to be True, comforting his Fellow-Prisoners, and his Wife with Letters, looking upon the most painful Death with a submissive and easy Mind; and in the midst of a slow Fire, calling out upon his Creator and Saviour with an entire Trust and Confidence, even to the end.

There were about the same time several others who preach'd up the Doctrine of the Reformation with great Danger in these Parts: Namely, *Gerradus Gallinaceus*, . . . . . *Galemus*, *Hermannus Modet*, *Petrus Gabriel*, *Christophorus*

*Stophorus Fabricius, Hermannus Johannes*, who had been all Monks, as also *Feito, Antonius Nicolaus, Cornelius Coletuin*, that had been Priests; and among the Laity of divers Professions, there were *Adrian Hamstede*, the first Writer of the *Netherland Martyrology*, *Caspar Heidanus, John Arents, Everhardus Gerardus, Peter Cornelison*, &c. But some of these enter'd much later upon the Ministry, as shall be related in its proper Place.

Whilst *Brully* lay in Prison at *Tournay*, some of his Followers were burnt. In order to bring them to Condemnation (for the Civil Magistrate could not keep pace with the Zeal of the Clergy) they sent one *Tisnacque*, an Advocate, from *Brussels* to *Tournay*. A Certain Burgher, named *Bergiban*, very well vers'd in the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of a good Life, having been sought for in vain in his own House, resolved, without being moved with the Tears of his Wife, nor with the Advice of his Father, Kindred and Friends, to deliver himself up to the Hands of his Persecutors. In three Days time therefore he settled all his Domestick Concerns; took his last Farewell of them, and then surrender'd himself. At first he show'd great Constancy, but when the Emperor's Commissary had caus'd him to tast of the Horror of a most Dreadful Prison, and continually threaten'd him with the most Cruel Death that could be imagin'd, he was stagger'd at last, and recanted his first Confession, being incessantly teased by the Priests; but chiefly that the Manner of

of his Death might be changed, to wit, from the Fire to the Sword.

*Peter Mioce*, who was likewise imprison'd about this time, persevered in the Faith, resisted heavy Temptations, and when they continually contradicted and interrupted him in speaking; *If you will not bear me, send me back to the Toads and Serpents my Companions in the Dungeon, for they don't disturb me when I Sing or Pray; since you who are Rational Creatures, made after God's Image, refuse to hearken to me, when I mention his Eternal Word.* To those who bad him take Example from his Friend and Companion *Bergiban*, who was much wiser than he, as they said, and yet had recanted, he answer'd; *I pin my Faith on no Man's Sleeve; I am supported by a much more stable Foundation; I set my Saviour Jesus Christ for a Pattern before mine Eyes: As for what concerns Bergiban, if it be as you tell me, he is a false Traytor, and has shown that the surrendring himself, after the manner he has done, was Tempting Providence. As for my self, if God had furnish'd me with such an Opportunity of Escaping, I would have made use of it, and kept out of your Hands; for which reason, since I am fallen into them, do with my Body as you think fit; but my Soul is not in your Power.* Whilst they were carrying him to the Fire, he cry'd out to the People; *Believe not these Cheats the Priests and Monks; but believe the Gospel of the Son of God.* When the Gun-powder, that hung at his Breast was fired, and made a loud Report, the Monks cried; *This is the He-*

*retick's*

*retick's Soul, which the Devils are carrying away.*

There was moreover a Taylor accused of Heresie, and imprison'd together with his Wife, but his Heart failing him, he recanted, and so was only Beheaded. His Wife on the other hand behaved more couragiously, and continuing stedfast, was buried alive. The manner of which was thus: They put her into a Chest without a Cover, the Length and Breadth of which was scarce equal to those Dimensions of her Body; that this Chest might be well closed at top, there were three Iron Bars thrust through it, one of which lay across her Breast, another her Belly, and the third her Legs. At the upper end of the Chest, near her Head, there was a Hole made, through which one end of a Rope past, the other being about her Neck, and when the Earth was thrown upon her Body, whilst it lay thus in the Chest upon the Scaffold, the Executioner stood below and pulled the said Rope. As she was leading away, to be put to Death, in the manner above-mention'd, and passing by the Prison where her Husband had lain, for she knew nothing of his Death, she cried out: *Farewell my Dear Adrian, I am going to another Wedding.* When she came upon the Scaffold, and saw the fatal Chest and the other Instruments of Death, she asked with an Intrepidity that appear'd in her Eyes; *Is this the Pasty you have prepared for me?*

At Gant one Martin Hureblock was burnt for abjuring Popery, on the 8th of May. On the same



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same account *John de Bok* and *Nicolas vander Poelen* lost their Heads on a Scaffold. The Wife of the latter was buried alive.

*Quirinus Peterson* of *Groningen* was condemn'd to be burnt at *Amsterdam*; in the Sentence that was past against him, it is said, *That it was for his having embrac'd the Errors and Heresies of the Anabaptists*, suffering himself to be Rebaptiz'd by *Menno Simons*, for his false Opinions touching the Sacraments of Holy Church, for having debauch'd other Persons to the same Errors, and for his own obstinate Persevering therein.

*Francis van Bolswart*, a Brother of the same Sect, was burnt at *Leeuwarden* on the Eve of *Palm-Sunday*.

In the Year 1546, and on the 24th of *May*, there were two Anabaptists of *Edam*, who had been condemn'd by the Court of *Holland*, bound with Leather Thongs, and burnt at *Amsterdam*. Several Persons of the same Sect were put upon the Rack at *Leyden*, and thro' the force of Torments made to discover some of the *Munsterian* Rioters, that concealed themselves at *Utrecht*. Among whom, two of those that were apprehended thereupon, were said to be, one the new chosen King, but not yet Crown'd, and the other his Treasurer. This King, among divers other Horrible Crimes of which he was accused, forced his Wife to descend from a Waggon as they were Travelling, and to go into a Wood, where he Murdered her, to prevent her discovering the Incest he had committed with her Daughter, and to continue the same without

Interruption.

Interruption. And some time after in *Utrecht*, he cut the Throat of that very young Woman. They found in his Custody a great quantity of Wrought-Silver which he had plundered in Churches. He discovered several of his Accomplices to the Government, some of whom being found Innocent, were discharged, and others fell by the Sword; as for himself and his Treasurer, they were burnt alive.

On the Last of *July* the Emperor published another Placard, in relation to Heretical Books, whereby the former were confirm'd and enforced with new Penalties, in which among other things it is said; *That none should presume to Print any Books unless they first obtain'd from the Emperor a Licence for exercising the Trade of a Printer, and had given full Proof of their Quality, Condition, Fitness and Good Name, and then also they were to take an Oath, that they would observe and put in Execution the Ordinances relating to Books, on pain of Death.* The said Placard did further require, *That from thence-forwards none might keep Publick Schools, unless they were previously approved and admitted by the Officer of the Town or Village and the Pastor of the Parish-Church of the Place where they proposed to open the same, or by such other Persons Ecclesiastical or Temporal, that have of old Times any Right or Privilege in that Matter; on pain of forfeiting twelve Carolus Gelders for the first time; double as much the second time; and to be for ever banish'd from the Place of their Habitation, if guilty of the like*

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*like the third time.* The Names of the Books which the Children wereto use, and none other, were also expressed in the said Placard.

This was followed by a Catalogue of all the Books which the Faculty of Divines of the University of *Louvain* (after having examined them by Order of the Emperor) had declared to be Evil or Dangerous, and were therefore prohibited by the said Placard. Among the said forbidden Books there were likewise the *Latin Bibles*, printed at *Paris* by *Robert Stevens*, in the Year 1532 and 1540. By *Francis Gryphius*, in the Years 1541 and 1542. At *Basil*, by *Froben*, in the Years 1530 and 1538. At *Antwerp*, by *J. Stels*, in 1538, 1541 and 1542. At *Lyons*, by *Sebastian Gryphius* in 1542. As also the Bible with the Annotations of *Sebastian Munster*, printed at *Basil* in 1535. The *Dutch Bible*, printed at *Antwerp* by *Jacob Liesvelt*, in 1542. By *William Vosterman*, in 1528, 1534, 1544, 1545. And by *Henry Peterson*, in the Year 1541. The *Walloon* or *French Bibles* of *Antwerp*, in 1534, by *Martin de Keiser*, and in 1541, by *Anthony de la Haye*: Likewise the New Testaments in *Dutch*, printed by *Liesvelt*, in the Years 1542, 1543 and 1544; together with Seventeen other Impressions.

The above-mentioned *Jacob Liesvelt* was Beheaded at *Antwerp*, because he had said in the Annotations of one of his Bibles, after another Copy, *that the Salvation of Mankind proceeded alone from Christ.*

About the Year 1547, one *Richt Heynes*, a *Christen* Woman, of the Sect of the Anabaptists, big with Child, and near the time of her Labour, was taken out of her House, bound with Cords, and hurried away to Prison at *Leeuwarden*, where she was delivered of a Son within the third Week, who was mark'd on the Arms with his Mother's Bands. As soon as she was up, they put her to the Rack, to make her discover those of the same Perswasion, and tormented her so grievously, that she lost the use of her Hands; notwithstanding which, she accused no body. Finally, she was thrust into a Sack and drowned.

One *Martin*, a Shoe-maker at *Ypres* in *Flanders*, was likewise brought to the Stake for his Faith, and underwent the Fiery Trial with an undaunted Mind. After he had received Sentence of Death he looked out of a Window and saw the Wood prepared to Burn him; and to one that said, Behold the Wood with which you are to be Burnt; he answered; *This is a Poor little Fire, in comparison of the Everlasting one; but after I have suffered a little Smart by it, I shall enjoy everlasting Happiness.*

One *Michel*, a Taylor at *Tournay*, being likewise condemned to die for renouncing Popery, and asked by the Judges, whether he had rather abide by his Confession, and be Burnt to Death with a slow Fire; or Recant it, and be Beheaded; answered bravely, and without Hesitation: *He who judges me worthy to suffer for his Name-sake, will likewise grant me Strength and Patience to undergo the Fiery Trial.*

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In the Year 1548, an Anabaptist Burgher was strangled and burnt.

In the Year 1549, there lay in Prison, on account of Religion, about twenty Anabaptists; of whom all but five Men and three Women made their escape by the help of some Friends. And a certain Taylor, named *Ellert Janson*, might have saved himself with the rest of his Companions, but he refused it, saying; *I am now so well satisfied to be offered up, and feel myself at present in such a State of Salvation, that if I should live longer I don't expect to be better.* He was likewise lame of one Leg, and thought that altho' he might get out, he should be easily found out again and taken; he therefore stayed behind, and was burnt on the 20th of March with the other five Men and three Women, for that they (so ran the Sentence) *had suffered themselves to be Rebaptized by Giles van Aken, and had wrong Notions of the Sacrament.* As he was leading to Execution, he cry'd out; *This is the most Joyful Day of my whole Life.* He had been put to the Rack before, with two other Men. Their Estates were declared Forfeited, with a Saving to the Privileges of the Town, for two of 'em were Denizens thereof. One of the Women was respited, because she was near her Time, but her Sufferings and the Pains of Child-birth deprived her of her Senses, and she died soon after in a Mad-house.

About the same time two Men of the same Sect were put to Death at *Leeuwarden*; as also a Woman drowned, after having been first tor-  
ture

ured with *Thumb-Irons* and *Skin-Screws*, as they call them. The reason of treating her thus in particular was, that having found a *Latin Testament* in her House, they thought she was a Teacher, and that *Menno* was her Husband; and were therefore resolv'd to know whom she had taught, who were her Accomplices, or present when she Baptiz'd. She would not answer any of these Questions, but said; *Examine me as to my Faith, and I will readily answer you.* For a Proof of her Opinions about the Host, she was ask'd, what were the Expressions of our Saviour, when he gave his Disciples the Sacrament? To which she replied; *What did he give them, Flesh or Bread?* They answer'd, He gave them *Bread*. Then, said she, *Did not the Lord remain among them? Who then could eat his Flesh?* The Judges ask'd her further, Whether she believed their Children to be Damn'd, because they were Baptized? To which she reply'd; *No; that be far from me, that I should condemn Children.* Then said somebody to her; *Don't you expect to be saved by Baptism?* She answered; *No; all the Water in the Sea can't save me, nor any thing else but that Salvation which is in Christ, who has commanded me, to love the Lord my God above all things, and my Neighbour as my self.*

In September there was a Man and a Woman of this Perswasion burnt at *Amsterdam*, the former being first tortured.

A certain Schoolmaster having been forced to fly from *Tournay*, for the Doctrine of the Reformation,

formation, settled at *Gant*. When any of his Religion were taken up and imprisoned he writ to the Magistrates, and delivered his Letters himself: *That they should not defile their Hands with the Innocent Blood of such Persons.* He likewise set before their Eyes the Terribleness of the Wrath of God; but for his Zeal he was sentenced to the Fire.

In *Hainault* also the Persecution raged grievously about this time; many suffering on account of their Faith. Master *Nicolas*, a Learned Man of *France*, who had resided some time at *Geneva*, and was now travelling to *England* thro' the *Low-Countries*, being intreated to visit, comfort and strengthen a little Flock at *Mons*, that had separated themselves from Popery, was upon that account apprehended about four Leagues from *Tournay*, and with his Wife and another Woman carried back to *Mons*: Where his Wife was prevailed upon, for the saving of her own Life, to betray the People that had entertain'd him. The Temporal Magistrates sent some Monks to him, to discover his Opinions, whom he handled so well with his Arguments, that he silenced them more than once, and at last they cried out all together; *The Devil is in him, to the Fire, to the Fire, with the Lutheran.* When the Sentence of Death was notified to him, he thanked God, sang a Psalm, brushed off the Dust and Straw from his Cloaths, and said to those that stood about him: *My Friends, I purify myself in this manner, because I am called to the Marriage of the Lamb.* They forbade him

him to speak to the People as he went to Execution; notwithstanding which, he cried out: O Charles! Charles! how long will your Heart be thus stony? upon his saying so, they smote him in the Face; then he turn'd himself to the People said: *Alas! poor Folk, ye are not worthy that the Word of God should be offer'd to you.* When the Monks objected to him again at the Stake, that he was possess'd by the Devil, he answered them with the 8th Verse of the 6th Psalm: *Depart from me all ye Workers of Iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my Weeping.* Thereupon they kindled the Fire; after which he was observed to raise up his Head, and to cry out twice: *O eternal Father, I recommend my self to thy Hands.* With no less Courage and Confidence in the Grace of God and Mary the Wife of Austin Barbier, the Companion of his Journey, suffer herself to be laid alive in a Coffin, and stamp'd upon by the Hangman, till she burst. Some time after which the said Austin was likewise seiz'd at Beaumont, and led away to Execution; and tho' he was naturally Timorours, he behaved himself bravely under this Dispensation, confessing freely what he conceiv'd to be the Truth of the Gospel. To one that said to him, take Pity on your self, and if you will not save your Body, save your Soul at least, he return'd him the following Answer, with his Thanks: *You may easily see that I have a great Concern for my self and my Soul, since I rather than I would do any thing against my conscience, I give my Body to be burnt.* In this

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I count



*I count my self happy: Since I don't suffer for a Wicked Life, but only for the Word of Jesus Christ, for which all the Martyrs have shed their Blood, as I hope to do likewise.*

<sup>1</sup> In the midst of all this Effusion of Blood the Emperor sent for his Son *Philip* out of *Spain*, and caused Homage to be done to him as Prince of the *Low-Countries*, and Presumptive Heir of the rest of his Father's Dominions. He was accordingly acknowledged as such at *Dort*, on the 26th of *September*, in the Presence of *Mary* Princess of *Austria*, and Queen Dowager of *Hungary*; the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Alva*; the Princes of *Orange* and *Ascoli*; the Counts of *Egmont*, *Horn* and *Meegen*; the Marquisses of *Bergen* or *Mons*, *Astorgo* and *Pescara*; the Presidents *Viglius* and *Everard Nicolai*. <sup>2</sup> Prince *Philip* made a Progress in the same Month to *Rotterdam*, where he was received with great Marks of Honour and Joy. They had set the Statue of *Erasmus*, after the Life, in the Place of his Arrival, and made one of its Arms to reach out a Copy of Verses, welcoming his Highness to that City. After which, the Prince, the Queen, and other great Personages attending them, being moved at the Remembrance of so Great a Man, went and viewed, with much respect, the House and Chamber where he was Born.

Soon after, the Emperor put out another Placard

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<sup>1</sup> *Hoofst's Hist. L. I. p. 3. Beverw. Dort. p. 346.*  
<sup>2</sup> *Seb. Munst. Cosmog. p. 130.*

Placard, which bore Date at *Brussels*, the 20th of *November*, for determining the Disputes and Differences that arose about the Estates, Goods and Chattels that had been Forfeited on account of Heresie : Forasmuch as some Lords, in whose Districts and Jurisdictions the Estates of some of the Hereticks lay, and from whom they were holden in Vassalage, maintain'd, That the Forfeitures were theirs. By this Placard it was declared, That all Estates of Hereticks, even of this nature, should likewise be forfeited. —

When any Man was convicted of Heresie before the Inquisition or Spiritual Judges, and continued obstinate till he suffered the extreamest Punishment, then should his Estate, if holden of the Emperor, be forfeited to him ; but if it were holden of a Subject, having the Right of Confiscation, then it should fall to him : But if the Party were tried and condemned before the Civil Magistrate, then the Forfeited Estate was to be divided between the Emperor and such as had the Right of Confiscation. And forasmuch as some Towns and Places pretended, that their could be no Confiscation or Forfeiture of Estates within their Jurisdictions on any Pretence whatever, and that it was a Privilege which, as they said, they had enjoyed from ancient Times, the Emperor did Ordain, Will and Command, that in all the Cases abovementioned, Forfeitures should take place from henceforwards throughout all his Dominions, non obstante, all Privileges, Customs and Usages to the contrary. And that

*no Towns nor Countries should be permitted to plead them in the Cases above-mentioned.*

Before this time there had been a Placard made against such as called themselves *New Christians*; and in order to escape the Enquiry and Examination which the King of *Portugal* had caused to be made into their Lives, and Apostatizing (for many of them continued in the *Jewish* Religion in private) had fled into these Countries for their Preservation. On which account the Permission formerly granted them to dwell and reside in these Parts was revoked, and all those who had settled here within the space of six Years last past, were required to depart in a Months time, with their Wives, Children and Goods; on pain of being punished Corporally and Pecuniarily. Some of 'em stay'd, alledging, that they had not left *Portugal* for fear of the Inquisition: But even these were banish'd out of the Country by another and more rigorous Placard, dated the 30th of *May*, in the Year 1550.

In the said Year there were about twenty Anabaptists massacred in the *Low-Countries* for their Religion: Two at *Gant*, four at *Lier*, three at *Antwerp*, three at *Brechem*, one at *Ruremond*, one at *Leeuwarden*, one at *Amsterdam*, and the rest at *Leyden*. Among these there were five Women.

But the Magistrates of all these Towns were not equally zealous and violent in thus persecuting People on account of Religion; for in the hottest

hottest of these sad Times a young Man being taken upon Suspicion by the Scout of Amsterdam, who in the presence of one of the Burgomasters interrogated him, whether he had been Rebaptized? He answered, No; and when the Scout would have questioned him farther, the Burgomaster forbade the young Man (who seemed very ready) to answer any more Questions; and saying to the Scout, *I will not suffer you thus to examine my Citizens; if you have any thing to say against him, or if he has done any Evil, proceed according to Law.* By this Equitable Opposition the Prisoner was saved.

At this time there appear'd another Placard about the Business of Heresie, dated the 29th of April, at Brussels; by which not only all the former were confirmed, but the Methods of Proceeding by the Inquisition were much more strongly and plainly enforced; for it contained the following Expressions: *And We also require, that all our Justices, and other Officers, being thereto requested and desired by the Inquisitors of the Faith, and by the Ordinary Judges of the Bishops (in case they have a mind to act conjointly against any Person, so far as relates to the Spiritual Crime of Heresie) to give them all Favour, Countenance and Encouragement, Help and Assistance, in the Execution and Performance of this Charge. And moreover, in the seizing, apprehending and securing all such as appear defiled or infected, according to the Instructions which the aforesaid Inquisitors shall receive from Us.* At the Conclusion it was said, that they



should proceed against the Offenders by Execution, *notwithstanding any Privileges to the contrary*, which were abrogated and annulled by this Edict, as in the Placard of the Year 1540.

The mentioning the Inquisition (by which that of *Spain* was meant) in such plain Terms, excited most terrible Apprehensions in the Minds of the People. For this was now become the Tribunal of the *Dominican* Monks, who punished with the most Infamous, as well as dreadful kinds of Death, and Loss of Estate, not only Publick and Well-proved Crimes; but invented the vilest Stratagems to ensnare People, to fathom their Souls, and to extort the deepest Secrets of their Hearts, by such Threats as were intolerable to be seen or heard, and by Torments not to be endured. They had two Officers, one of them intituled, *the Promoter of the Rights of the Church*, who was most commonly a Clergyman, and he insisted upon the Sentence of Infidelity or Heresie against the accused Person; and the other, who in the King's Name demanded the Forfeiture of the Criminal's Estate; and this was a Temporal or Lay Person. Whoever hears any Criminal Expressions, tho' they should drop from the Mouth of ones own Father, is bound to accuse him. Two Witnesses, tho' of different Facts, are sufficient to cast a Man into a Loathsome Dungeon, where he is hardly allow'd any Food or other Refreshments, and is forbid all Visits and Consolations, yet even singing Psalms, as being too much Ease for him in his Solitude; and to the end that he might

might be overcome with Melancholy or Despair. In case he own what he is accused of, and abjures his Religion, the Penance he undergoes, is to wear the *Sacco Benito*, or Blessed Sack-Cloth, as they call it, and Forfeits all his Estate. If he persevere in Denying the Accusation, and affirms, that he is a *Pure Romish Christian*, they condemn him upon the Testimony of two Persons swearing the same Fact, to the Fire; but if they differ in the Evidence, then to the Rack. The Names of the Witnesses is always concealed from him; the Matter indeed is told him, but generally and ambiguously. But if he suspect that he is wrongfully accused by his Enemies, he has Liberty to guess at them, and if he succeeds, to except against them; but in case his Exceptions be over-ruled, or if there be more Witnesses, whom he can't guess at, then their Evidence remains good.

The Torture is performed with a Rack, Fire and Water, in a dark Cellar, and by Torch-light; the Executioner is covered with a Black Linnen-Garment from Head to Foot, in which there are made Holes for his Eyes.

Some have been kept in the Prisons of the Inquisition ten or twelve Years, and afterwards put to Death.

There have been Instances of some, who tho' they were true Romanists, have own'd the contrary, that they might escape with such Penance as shall be imposed on them. Others (which is yet worse) being Christians in their Heart, thro' the Horror of such Usage, or by

the Weakness, as they thought, of the Arguments alledged against *Judaism*, have been driven into that Perswasion.

Those who are condemn'd by the Spiritual Judgment only, are deliver'd up to the Secular Arm, to be punish'd. Many of the Civil Magistrates have, out of, as they thought, a godly Emulation with each other, striven who should exercise the most terrible Punishments on such condemned Persons. But others, who foresaw what a Door would be set open thereby not only to Malice and Hatred, but also to Avarice, seeing that their Estates were all forfeited, and that great Advantages might be made by such Accusations, could not bear that the Cognizance of these Causes should be wrested out of their Hands. *Grotius* says, that it was enough to send any one to Prison if he were but suspected of Heresie; and that any Proof, even of the smallest moment, would bring him to the Rack. That Learned Man adds, that the Inquisitors had a Power of sending for any Persons, of what State or Condition soever, and of asking them what Questions they pleased upon Oath; *By which means they did not only penetrate into the Secrets of Families, but also of Consciences*: For the more any Man dreaded Perjury, the more readily he betray'd himself; besides, that those who scrupled to kneel before the Images of the Saints, or the Host when elevated in the Church,

Church, or carried openly in Procession, could hardly avoid being discover'd.

At the first, this kind of Inquisition was only used against the *Jews* and the *Moors*; but now against all Persons without distinction, and all sorts of Tricks were put in practice to detect People: For a Man's Silence was as much observ'd as his Speech; and the former render'd him sometimes as obnoxious as the latter: No Friendship could be relied on; and a Man's Accuser was often his Bosom-Friend: Insomuch, that it was now plain, that the Life and Honour of the most innocent Person was at the Mercy of the greatest Villains.

That these things are not magnified out of Hatred, but related with a most strict regard to Truth, cannot be denied by such as have ever heard what Disturbances have been excited in <sup>1</sup> *Spain*, <sup>2</sup> and throughout all *Italy*, yea, even at <sup>3</sup> *Rome* itself, by those who continued in Communion with the Pope. It was no wonder then if the People of *Antwerp*, which flourish'd above all the Towns of the *Low-Countries* in its Commerce (a Blessing that commonly attends *Liberty of Conscience*) did from the very beginning oppose this Religious Tyranny. Moreover, it was about the same time that the Doctrine of the Reformation was privately taught there by certain Preachers, <sup>4</sup> to wit, by *George Sylvanus*, and

<sup>1</sup> Hist. des Mart. f. 476. | 683. Ib. Hist. Inquis. p. 40. De  
<sup>2</sup> Especially at Naples. See Veers Chron. p. 137.  
 Thuan. L. II. p. 135. Hist. <sup>3</sup> Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 376.  
 Conc. Trid. p. 344. & Thuan. L. XXIII. p. 1053.  
<sup>4</sup> Wesenb. p. 13.



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and *Gasper vander Heiden*. They therefore scrupled to receive and promulgate the said Placard, which had been admitted too easily in some places, and without attending to the Consequences : The rather, because they observ'd upon the first Rumours thereof among the People, some of those dreaded Inconveniencies which soon follow'd. For many Merchants prepared themselves to be gone ; all Trade was at a stand ; there was neither Buying nor Selling, nor any Correspondence with other Parts : The Rents of Houses fell ; the Handicrafts decay'd ; and the Labourers and Journeymen could get no Pay. This put the Magistrates upon enquiring into, and informing themselves of all the Prejudice which the Publick had already suffer'd through fear of the *Inquisition*, and what, according to all appearance, it might still be likely to suffer on that Account. They heard a great number of the principal Burghers and Merchants on their Oaths, and laid the whole Matter before Queen *Mary*, with their most humble Request, that she would be pleased to intercede with the Emperor her Brother, that the most renowned Trading Town of his Dominions might not be burden'd and ruin'd by the *Inquisition* ; from which, as also from all Spiritual Jurisdiction, they had been ever free, and ought to continue so, according to their Rights and Privileges. The Council of *Brabant* did likewise declare for the Liberties of their Country, against the Placard and the *Inquisition*, and encouraged the *Antwerpers* to persist in their Demands. The same was done

by

by several other Towns in *Brahant*, who were against the Publication of the said Placard. *Mary*, a Princess of great Humanity and Goodness, and of so much Moderation in the Points of Religion, that Pope *Paul* the Third insinuated to the Emperor in the Year 1539, that he suspected her of secretly favouring the *Lutherans*, and holding a Correspondence with them, found her self greatly concern'd, and finally obliged to take a Journey as far as *Ausburg*, where the Emperor at that time held the Diet of *Germany*: There she represented to her Brother what Miseries those things that were called *Remedies* had occasion'd; that all the Foreign Merchants were leaving the Country; and that Trade, upon which the Welfare of the State so much depended, might receive such a Shock, as it could never recover, if he insisted upon establishing the Inquisition in the *Netherlands*.

By this Representation she prevail'd so far, that the Placard which had given so much Offence, was alter'd by another of the 25th of *September*, sign'd at *Ausburg*; and some of the Articles relating to Foreign Merchants were mollified, and the Words, *Inquisitor* and *Inquisition* were left out, and it ran thus: *That when the Spiritual Judges* (by which some understood the Inquisitors) *desired to proceed against any Person, with respect to the Crime of Heresie, they should apply to those of the Emperor's Sovereign Courts, or Provincial Courts, to lend them somebody*

body of their Colleges, as an Adjunct, or Assessor, to superintend over the Informations and Proceedings which were to be carried on against the suspected Person ; requiring and commanding all Magistrates and other Officers, to be aiding and assisting to the aforesaid [Spiritual] Judges, and the Adjuncts in the Discharge of their Office.

As for the rest, this Placard was as strong and secure as the former, and gave as great Offence in the Conclusion of it ; which was thus express'd : *That such as infringed or disobey'd these Orders, should be proceeded against, by Execution of the appointed Penalties, notwithstanding any Appeal, or Privilege whatsoever.* From all which this Placard derogated as the former.

On the Back of this Placard there was a certain List of Books condemn'd a-new by the Divines of *Louvain*, and forbidden by the Emperor ; and the Number of them was much larger than formerly. This List bore Date the 26th of *March*.

Altho' this Placard of *Ausburg* was publish'd in most of the Towns of the *Low-Countries* with ringing of Bells, yet would not the People of *Antwerp* receive it, till the Chancellor of *Brabant* had assured them by Letters, that they should not be saddled with any kind of *Inquisition* : But that their Inhabitants and Merchants should be secured in their ancient Privileges.

<sup>1</sup> Accordingly the Magistrates would not consent

<sup>2</sup> Bors Ned. Hist. Lib. I. p. 10. Hooft. I. 23, Wessenb. p. 12.

sent to the Publication of the Placard, till it was declared by an Instrument in Writing, dated the 5th of November; importing, That, notwithstanding the last Article, and particularly the Clause beginning with these words: 'Notwithstanding any Opposition, or Appeal made, or to be made; nor any Privileges, Ordinances, Statutes, Customs or Usages to the contrary: Which we will not suffer to be alledged, or referr'd to in this Case—— They (the Magistrates) protest, that in this respect they do insist upon their Rights and Privileges, Laws, Customs and Usages, from whence they will not admit of any Derogation. This Declaration was sign'd, POLITES.

Nevertheless the Name and Nature of the Inquisition was not so new in this Country, as we have shown before; but never introduced absolutely, nor exercised after the Spanish manner. But now the Professors of Divinity, who were privately appointed *Inquisitors of Heresie*, endeavour'd not only to execute their Office with much greater Severity, but they pretended to do it likewise by others, whom they did, as it were, depute thereto; particularly in those Towns that had receiv'd the Placard of the 29th of April, in the Provinces of *Artois, Hainault, Flanders and Holland*. Yea, one of these *Inquisitors* had the Confidence to say, in a Meeting of the Magistrates of *Antwerp*, that, *He and his Companions had Authority to come into that City,*  
and

<sup>2</sup> Hooft. p. 32, &c.



and to execute their Office ; to examine Persons ; to take Cognizance of the Crimes of such as were in Prison ; and to do whatever else he pleased, altho' the Magistrates did not consent thereto, nay, tho' they did expressly forbid it.

<sup>1</sup> And this Affair of the *Inquisition* and the Oppression from *Spain* prevail'd more and more; every Body began to be convinced, that their Liberty was struck at, and that they were destined to perpetual Slavery.

The Progress of the Persecution confirm'd them in these Sentiments ; for in the Year 1551, there were several Persons condemn'd and burnt at *Valencienne* for their Religion, by vertue of the Placard above-mention'd ; namely, a certain Widow, as also a Father, with his Son and Daughter, and her Husband. The Father answer'd the crafty Disputes against his Faith in the following plain and simple manner : *I don't pretend to so much Learning, as to be able to refute all your Objections against my Religion ; but I shall rely upon the Truth of the Gospel, say what you will.* With this peaceful Simplicity, and with an entire Perswasion that he had the Truth on his side, this old Man went cheerfully to the Fire. But his Daughter, who was Pregnant, was respited till she should be brought to

Bed

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<sup>2</sup> *The Rights and Privileges of Holland are to be seen in Grotius de Antiquit. Reip. Bat. p. 72. and in Hooft, p. 34. Those of Brabant in Bor's Hist. L. I. p. 14. and in L'Apol. du Pr. d'Orange, p. 69. Those of Frielland, in the said Bor, L. III. p. 103. With these agreed for the most part, and in the weightiest Matters, the Rights of the other Provinces. See Hooft ib.*

Bed. After which, being urged by the Judges to a Recantation, with Promise of Life, she said thus to them ; *Ab, my Lords, I have languish'd enough ; why do you keep me any longer ? I am strong enough now, God be praised, to follow my Father, Husband and Brother.*

At Antwerp, about the same time, there was a certain Flemming, named *John van Ostend*, condemn'd to the Fire for his Religion. This Man, who was of the Confession of *Ausburg*, disputed briskly with some of the Monks about the Traditions of the Church, and Authority of the Pope. They ask'd him among other things, Whether all the Ancients that had lived and died in the Communion of the *Romish* Church were Damn'd ? He made Answer ; *We must leave this to the Will of God, who, if He pleases, may wink at those Times of Ignorance, and be merciful : And now, that the Light of the Gospel, which has been so long hidden, shines forth upon the World, every one must take care for himself. Christ has had Compassion on us, sending his Truth among Men, to deliver them from Ignorance and Errors.*

In this same Year likewise, in *Flanders* and *Brabant* only, there were sixteen Anabaptists, of whom five were Women, put to Death for Religion. Two of the Men, together with two Women, being condemn'd at *Gant*, thank'd their Judges for sentencing them to be Burnt. Yea, one of the Women cry'd out to them ; *My Lords, you may save three of your Stakes, we can die all four of us at one, since we are*  
but

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but one in a *Spiritual* sense. One of the Men broke out into these Words, being upon the Scaffold: *O ye Inhabitants of Gant! we do not die like Hereticks or Lutherans, who hold a Can of Beer in one Hand and a Bible in t'other, and so dishonour the Word of God with Drunkenness; but we die for the real Truth.* In the Number of those that were murder'd was *Jerom Segerts*, with his Wife and others; these suffer'd at *Antwerp*. When the Judges gave him some hopes of saving his Life, provided he would be converted to the *Romish Church*, *Jerom* answer'd them thus: *Tho' you should set the Door of the Prison open, and should say to me, Go, only cry, you are sorry, I would not stir, because I know I have the Truth on my side.* Whilst he was in the Dungeon, he writ to his Wife in the following manner: "I find the Lord is with us. We have a Treasure in Earthly Vessels. This will not be hid; one calls out to the other, and pours out his Treasure, so that it may be seen. We call, we sing to each other, we have the like Joy in comforting and strengthening one another. The Lord has granted us such a measure of Strength and Force, that we cannot sufficiently thank him for the great Mercies we have receiv'd from him." And again, in another Letter: "I have so much Comfort through God's Promises, that I don't so much as think upon any Sufferings. I feel so much Joy and Pleasure, that I can neither express it by Speech or Writing. I did not imagine that a Man could be sensible of so much

“ much Gladness in a Prison : It is so great,  
 “ that it will hardly suffer me to sleep Day or  
 “ Night. I can scarce think I have lain here  
 “ more than one Day. Oh ! if I could but  
 “ break my Heart in pieces, and distribute it  
 “ between you and the rest of my Friends ! Oh !  
 “ that I could serve them with my Blood !” He  
 was burnt the 2d of *September*. They staid  
 till his Wife was deliver’d of her Child, and then  
 they threw her, one Morning early, into the  
*Scheld.*

During this Persecution, but we cannot fix  
 the exact Time, there was brought before the  
 bloody Tribunal a Man, seventy five Years old.  
 His Hair was white, his Body lean, his Manners  
 irreproachable, and he fear’d God : This Man  
 had been Baptized, or rather Re-baptiz’d, by  
 the *Brethren* in his old Age. Whilst he sat  
 bound like an innocent Sheep prepared for the  
 Slaughter-house, and being encompass’d by a  
 Number of the Burghers, waiting for the *Cri-*  
*iminal Magistrate*, who was to pronounce the  
 Sentence of Death against him, one of ’em spake  
 thus to him, in the hearing of the People : My  
 good Man, why do you continue thus obstinate-  
 ly in your cursed Error : Do you think there is  
 no such place as Hell ? Sir, said the old Man,  
 I believe a Hell most certainly ; but I know no-  
 thing of the Errors you mention. Yes, said ano-  
 ther, you are in an Error, and in so dreadful a  
 one also, that if you die in it, you will be damn’d  
 for ever. Are you sure of that ? said the old  
 Man again ; Yea, replied the Officer, ’tis as sure



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as any thing in the World, thinking he had stagger'd him, and hoping for the Honour of his Conversion: But the old Man return'd him a very unexpected Answer: *If it be so*, said he, *then are ye Murderers of my Soul.* Upon this there was a great Silence among the Multitude, who were very attentive to these Arguments of the old Man; with which the Officer was so shamed and mortified, that he cried out aloud to the Prisoner, What do you say, you impudent Fellow? Are we the Murderers of your Soul? The old Man answer'd; *Don't be angry, Sir, at the Sound of Truth.* You your self know, that *Faith is the Gift of God*; that neither I, nor any other, can extort this saving Gift out of God's Hands; that God bestows his Gifts on one Man early, on another late, just as he call'd the Husbandmen into the Vineyard. Suppose now that I had not yet received this Gift, as you have, ought you to punish me for that Misfortune? Might not God, in case you suffer'd me to live, might he not impart to me as well as to you, this wholesome Gift in a Week, a Month, or a Year? If then you binder me from sharing therein, by depriving me of this Time of Grace, what are you otherwise than Murderers of my Soul? These simple, but true Argument, couragiously urged by this good old Man, did so move the Hearts of the Towns-People that stood about him, that there was no small Murmuring and Grumbling among them; insomuch that the Officers of Justice hurried away the Prisoner up to the Court in the Stadthouse, where being recover'd

recover'd of their Fright, they procured this innocent old Man to be condemned to Death, and Beheaded the same Morning, to the great Discontent and imbittering of many of the Burghers, who were forced to behold this lamentable Tragedy in Silence.

The Anabaptists relate several other remarkable Events, which their Ancestors have handed down to them; but cannot fix the Period of them, for want of recording them when they happen'd. Yet we must not pass them by entirely, but allow some of them a place in this History.

When the Persecution was at the hottest in *Amsterdam*, a certain Man being inform'd, that one of his Sect was to be burnt there at such a time; thereupon he made all the haste he could from *Waterland*, but arrived so late, that the Boom next the *T* was shut; but with the help of Money he got that open'd; and running to the *Dam* as fast as he could, he placed himself upon an Eminence; and when he saw the Prisoner ascending the Scaffold, he cry'd out to him, *Brother, fight manfully.* At this Cry, Endeavours were used to seize him, but they laid hands on the wrong Person, who justified himself with Fear and Trembling: This brought the true Man to light, who, to save the Innocent, came forth, saying, *I am the Man.* Upon which Confession he was committed, tried, condemned and executed in the space of fourteen Days.

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I have likewise been inform'd by credible Persons, who had heard it from their Parents, that one time when a certain Anabaptist Teacher was to be burnt at *Amsterdam*, one of their Ancestors went to comfort his Wife whilst he was leading to Execution ; but not finding her at Home, nor elsewhere, asking her, where she had been ? were answer'd, *I have been at the Dam* (the place where he was put to Death. *Think ye that I would forsake my Bridegroom in the time of Need : I was resolved to see him celebrate his last Wedding-Dinner.*

In the Year 1552, *Godfry van Hamel*, a zealous Opposer of Popery, after having undergone many Trials, was found guilty of Heresie and Burnt at *Tournay*.

At *Bruges* there were likewise four Men executed on account of their Religion. But the Number of Anabaptists, who about the same time seal'd their Confession with their Blood was far greater. Four of this Sect were put to Death at *Blankenburg*, one at *Komen*, one at *Gant*. At *Leyden* two Women and three Men (one of whom going unwarily to the Prison to speak with some of his own Perswasion, was discovered, and stopt there.) At *Amsterdam*, six were burnt one Day.

In the Year 1553, on the 6th of *January*, two others were executed ; one was a Man of *Sollum* the other a young Lass of *Freden* ; who when she was brought to the Rack, confess'd, that she had harbour'd several of her own Sect, and brought over others to her Opinions. She

have

haved so modestly and handsomely in her Bands, and by a long Imprisonment was become so familiar with the Keeper's Wife, that she employed her about the House like a Servant. And one Day when some Dirt was to be carried out of the House, and there was nobody else to do it, she offered her Service, but the Mistress asked if she would not take that Opportunity to Run away? the young Woman assured her, she would not; but afterwards reflecting on Human Frailty, she refused to expose herself to such a Temptation, and stayed within; soon after she went to the Scaffold and to Fire, dress'd in her best Apparel, as if she had gone to be Married.

At *Courtray* one of the same Perswasion was also put to Death, and another at *Furnes*, who being sentenced to lose his Head, suffered seven Strokes of the Sword before it was separated from his Body, which Martyrdom so affected his sorrowful pregnant Wife, that it kill'd both her and the Child in her Womb.

At *Dixmude* in *Flanders* one *Walter Capel* was brought into Trouble on the same Account; he was a very Generous Man, and Bountiful to the Poor, among whom he had often fed a Poor simple Creature that was maintained by the Alms of the Town, and passed for a Changling. When he was condemned to Death, this Fool cried out to the Judges: *Ye are Murderers. Ye spill Innocent Blood. The Man has done no Ill, but always given me Bread.* And whilst *Capel* was at the Stake, he would have thrown himself into the Fire, if he had not been hindered.



dered. Nor did his Gratitude dye with his Patron, for he went daily to the Gallows-Feild, where the half-burnt Carcass was fasten'd to a Stake, and there he stroked the Flesh of the Dead Man with his hand, saying: *Ab, poor Creature, you did no Harm, and yet they have spilt your Blood. You gave me my Belly-full of Victuals.* And some time after, when the Flesh was all consumed, he went again to the Stake, pulled away the Bones, and laying them upon his Shoulders, carried 'em to the House of one of the Burgomasters, with whom, as it happen'd, several others of the Magistracy were then present; and casting the said Bones at their Feet, cried out in a Snarling Tone: *There you Murderers, you have first eaten his Flesh, eat now his Bones.* Words that were too sensible to be spoken by a Fool, and too Bold for a Man of Understanding; but which probably he had heard others speak, and which he mimick'd, without knowing or fearing the Danger he run.

A certain Tradesman, who kept a Stall in the Market-place at *Bergen-op-zoom*, being an Anabaptist, refused to kneel to the Sacramental Bread, as it was carried before his Shop; for which only he was taken up, imprisoned, condemned to Death, and burnt out of the Town. His wonderful Constancy and Courage in Suffering made such an Impression upon the *Drossart* or Judge of the Place, who had caused him to be Prosecuted, and had seen his End, that as soon as he returned Home, thro' Sorrow and Concern he fell into a violent Fit of Sicknes both of Body

and Mind; during which he did nothing but cry out : *Oh Simon! Simon!* (this was the Name of the Man that was murdered.) The Monks endeavoured to pacify and comfort him, but all in vain, and accordingly he died soon after in a despairing Condition.

At *Leeuwarden*, about the same time, a young Man and a young Maiden of the Sect of the Anabaptists were drowned for their Religion, and another Man strangled.

On the 1st of *December* died at *Louvain*, *Adam Sasbout* of *Delf*, a *Franciscan* Fryer, and Professor of Divinity : <sup>1</sup> He was a Man of great Learning, and exemplary Life. By his Expositions upon *Isaiab*, and some of the Epistles of the Apostles, he has deserved everlasting Praise from all Christians, even from those that are the most averse to his Religion; among whom there were some that stiled him the *Golden Expositor*. He had not yet attain'd to the 37th Year of his Age, being born the 21st of *December* 1516.

In the Month of *April* of the Year 1554, *Ga-lein de Mulere*, a School Master at *Oudenard*, being accused of Heresie, because he had diligently apply'd himself to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, was brought before *Peter Titelman* the Dean of *Ronsen*, as Inquisitor of *Flanders*, and put-upon Tryal. The Poor Man was under very great Straights; on the one hand, he dreaded to deny God or the Truth as he had learnt them; and on the other, to confess any thing to the Prejudice of himself, his Life, his

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Wife

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Belg. Val. Andr. p. 101. &c.

Wife and five small Children, He endeavoured therefore to extricate himself from this *Dilemma*, by demanding to be heard before the Civil Magistrates, his lawful Judges, and that the Process against him might be carried on by way of *Charge* and *Proof*, but not by *Inquisition*; being perswaded that there was no Evidence against him. But the Dean made Answer: *This Objection of yours must be overruled as Frivolous; you are my Prisoner and under my Jurisdiction, who am the Pope's and the Emperor's Plenipotentiary. Answer therefore to my Questions.* And when the Man endeavour'd to evade any direct Answer, the Inquisitor adjured him by the Living God, that he should no longer trifle with him. *It is declared by Christ, said he, in Scripture, that, Whosoever shall confess me before Men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven. But whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my Words in this adulterous and sinful Generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the Glory of his Father with the Holy Angels. And St. Peter commands us, To be ready always to give an answer to every Man that asketh you a reason of the Hope that is in you with Meekness and Fear. I do therefore require at this present time, an account of your Faith.* Upon these Words the Schoolmasters Tongue broke loose; his Faint-heartedness vanish'd; his Love for his Wife and Children gave way to the Zeal with which his Soul was kindled; and under these powerful Emotions

motions he said within himself: *My God, my, God, assist me according to thy Promise.* Then turning himself to the Inquisitor, he bravely said to him: *Ask me now what you please, I shall plainly answer whatever the Spirit of God suggests to me to say, and hide nothing.* And being interrogated, he made such Confession of his Faith, as laid Popery upon its back, disclosed its Errors, and confuted its False Doctrines. They used all imaginable Arts to induce him to Recant; and when no other Arguments could prevail, they put him to the most Terrible Tryal of all. *Don't you Love your Wife and Children?* said they to him: *You know,* replied he, *that I Love them from my Heart, and that it is my Love for them which distresses me most of all. I tell you truly, if the whole World were turned into pure Gold, and given to me, I would freely resign it, so I might keep those Dear Pledges with me in my Confinement; and could live upon Dry Bread and Cold Water, and be covered with Contempt.* Forsake then, said they, your Heretical Opinions; you need only in one word to express your Sorrow and Recant; and then you may live with your Wife and Children as formerly. *I would comply with what you require of me,* said he, *if I did not sin against God and my own Conscience: And therefore, I will never for the sake of Wife, or Children, or all the World besides, renounce my Religion which I know to be True, as long as God shall strengthen me with his Grace.* Thus he remained steadfast in the Faith, and was at last pronounced Heretical



tical by the *Inquisitor*, and being delivered over to the Secular Arm was strangled and burnt.

*Thomas Calberge*, a Tapistry-maker at *Tournay*, had transcribed some Spiritual Hymns out of a Book that was printed at *Geneva*, and lent them to a Friend, who likewise lent them to another; for this the last Person was taken up, and being ask'd how he came by them, he discovered his Author, and he again the said *Calberge*. Thereupon *Calberge* was cited before the Magistrates, where he appeared, own'd his Transcript, justified the Contents thereof, and persever'd in his Profession without fearing that Fire in which he was consumed on the 25th of *June*.

About this time there were likewise put to Death at *Gant* a young Man of the Anabaptist Sect, together with a Woman that left six Orphans behind her, and after that another Man of the same Perswasion.

It was observed with Amazement by some, that the Emperor being at War with *France*, allowed the *German* Soldiers that were *Lutherans* and in his Service in the *Low-Countries*, to have Ministers among them both in the Camp and in Garrison, who made no scruple to Preach the Gospel, and declare the Word of God to all that they conversed with; nor was there any fault found with them for so doing. Thus it happen'd at *Antwerp*, where Queen *Mary* resided, during the time that the Regiment of *Lazarus Swend* lay there; and Liberty was also granted to these Strangers to eat Flesh on Fast-Days, whilst the same Practices cost the Subjects their

their Lives. This administred fresh Occasions for Murmuring and Discontent.

Somewhat later, and as it is said, in the Year 1555, *John Malo* was murdered at *Mons* for his Boldness in asserting in a certain Company, that *The Host was an Idol*. For this he was kept above a Year at the bottom of a Dungeon; and being afterwards led to Execution, he cried out aloud: *How often have we hazarded our Lives for the Emperor when we were his Soldiers? and shall we now scruple to lay them down for our Lord? We can never lose them to greater Advantage: But indeed we shall not lose 'em, for instead of this short and transitory Life, which we lay down as a Pledge for him, we shall obtain a Happy and an Everlasting Life.*

At the same Place afterwards *Damian Witkok*, the Widow *Waldrue Karleer* and *John Porceau* lost their Lives for their Religion. Against the first of these it was likewise objected, that he had suffered Heretical Conventicles to be holden in his House. Against the Widow, that she allowed People to read the Scriptures in her House; and her own Son to exercise himself in the same, without accusing him on that Account.

There was much Talk at this time about a certain Monk at *Gant*, of whom it was reported, that he declaimed against Popish Superstition in his Sermons, and preacht up Christian Truths. *Ottovander Cateline*, a Damask or Silk-Weaver of *Gant*, who had fled a little while before from *England* to *East-Friesland*, on the account

count of Religion, and was now come back to the place of his Nativity, went upon a certain Day to the Church where the said Monk preached, and contrary to his Expectations asserted, that the Sacramental Bread or Wafer, by virtue of the five Words which the Priest used in consecrating it, was changed into the Real Body of *Christ*, and consequently that *Christ* was there corporally Worshipped, Invoked and Eaten. As soon as the Sermon was done, *Otto* took off his Hat, and cried out as loud as he was able, whilst the Monk was still in his Pulpit: *Heark you my Friend, your whole Sermon is a Contradiction to the Holy Scripture.* And thereupon further offered to shew the Falsity of his Positions in the presence of the whole Congregation. The Monk advised him to be gone, but the other drawing yet nearer to him, said with great Vehemence: *O you False Prophet, who make the People believe that the Bread is the real Body of our Lord Christ, who after he had suffered for us, ascended into Heaven.* In the mean time the Congregation were greatly alarmed, all of them calling to him with one voice: *Alas Friend, what is it you do!* He replied with the same warmth as before: *They be all False Prophets, they seduce you, believe them not.* Then he went out of the Church along with the Crowd, and was advised by every Body to make the best of his way, but he refused, saying: *What I have declared so publicly deserves well to be considered.* Having said thus, on he went, but was soon overtaken and sent to Prison. Be-  
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ing afterwards Examined, and giving a brave Account of his Confession of Faith (for he was well exercised in the Holy Scriptures) on the 27th of *April* he was strangled at a Stake, his Body being steeped in Tar, and afterwards tied up to the Gallows. This Man suffered Martyrdom in the 30th Year of his Age.

At *Mechelen* two Brothers, named *Francis* and *Nicholas Matthews*, being suspected of Heresy, were upon Account of their Confession, and Constancy therein, first Excommunicated from the Church by the Inquisitor *Ruard Tapper*, as corrupt Members, and afterwards (it being taken for granted, that Excommunication deprived them of the Civil Right of Burghership) put upon the Rack, to extort from them the Names of their Fellow Hereticks; and when they would accuse none, nor abjure their own Religion, they were burnt on the 23d of *December* for Obstinacy.

*Bertrand le Blas* of *Tournay*, a Worker in Velvet, had for some time forsook the Place of his Nativity out of the Horror he had for Popish Idolatry, and settled at *Wesel*, and endeavoured to persuade his Wife and Little-ones to come thither to him, on which account he had taken three several Journeys to *Tournay*, but in vain, for she refused to follow him. Finding that he could not move her, he continued privately in the Town the last time, which was in *December*, until *Christmas* Holidays: Then recommending to the Prayers of his Wife and Brother, that the Project he had formed, without telling them what



what it was, might succeed, he went to the Church of *Notre Dame*, the chiefest of the Town: There walking thrice round the Choir he attempted to put his Project in Execution before the High Altar; but not being able to do it there, he went to the Parish-Chappel and continued standing there with his Head covered, till the Priest elevated the Host, and then running to him, he snatched the consecrated Wafer out his Hands, crying with a loud voice: *Ye mistaken and seduced People, can you imagine that this is Jesus Christ the True Saviour? Behold,* continued he, and broke it in peices, throwing it to the Ground and stamping on it with his Feet, *this I do for the Honour of God, and to show that there is no Knowledge nor Sense in this Bread.* This Action at such a solemn Time occasioned such an Astonishment and Terror among the People, that *Bertrand* might easily have concealed himself, and escaped if he would, but he did not stir a Foot, and so was apprehended. Being asked whether he was sorry for his Offence, and whether he would do the same if it were yet to be done, he answered: *That he would do it again a Hundred times if it were in his Power, and dye a Hundred Deaths for it if that were also possible, since that which he had done was for the Honour and Glory of his Saviour Jesus Christ.* He was tortured three times with great Rigour, to make him name his Accomplices, but he would accuse none. On the 28th of the above-said Month a dreadful Sentence was past and executed upon him. They fastened his Mouth

with

with an Iron-Padlock, and carried him on a Hurdle to the Market-place. There they put his Hand and his Right Foot between two Red-hot Irons full of Points with which they prest and screwed them, till they had quite lost their Figure, and were reduced to stumps. Then they tore his Tongue out of his Mouth; but because he called upon God and could make some articulate Sounds with the help of the Root thereof, they lockt up his Mouth again. Then binding his Arms and Legs together backwards, they fastened them to a Chain from a Pully, and so raised the Body up and let it down again over a small Fire till it was roasted or broiled, and so continued doing till he gave up the Ghost. His Ashes, after that the Body was quite consumed by the Flame, were thrown into the *Scheld*.

In this same Year divers Anabaptists were likewise put to Death; at *Antwerp* six Men, and a young Maid; at *Kulenberg* a certain young Man was burnt after having lain three Years in Prison; and at *Dort* the Daughter of one *Pee-ters* (because, as we find it on the Registers of the Town, she had been Re-baptized, and had frequented Conventicles) was first disfranchised by sound of Bell, and then put into a Sack, and drowned at *Puttoxtoren*.

About this time *Johannes Anastasius Veluanus* published *The Lay-mans Guide*, or a short Account of all the Principal Articles of the Christian Faith; with a Preface to the Nobility, Cities and Towns of the Province of *Guelderland* and

and County of *Zutphen*, and to all the Lovers of Christian Truth: And in the said Preface he tells what had befallen him some time before on account of his Religion, what he had done, and his End in Writing. The Substance of which taken from his own Words, is as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Having preached about six Years at *Garden* a little Village in the *Veluw*, he was apprehended on the first of *January* 1550, carried to *Arnhem*, and through fear of Death made a sinful Recantation. His principal Enemies were *Francis Sonnius* and *John Gruwell*. They found upon him two Manuscripts, the one contained his Sermons, the other the Matter of the Book which he now published; and in which the Popish Idolatry was refuted, and the Noble Truths of the Gospel brought to light by *Luther* and his Followers, recommended: He complains likewise therein of <sup>2</sup> the Imprisonment of the Elector of *Saxony*, <sup>3</sup> of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and <sup>4</sup> of the Deposing of the Elector of *Cologne*, and particularly that the Emperor suffered himself to be miserably deceived by the Pope. On the 3d of *February*, after having condemn'd him to a perpetual Imprisonment in an high Tower of the Castle of *Hattem*, from whence however the said *Sonnus* and *Gruwell* promised he should be discharged, if he would write so much

<sup>1</sup> *The Layman's Guide*, by John Anastatius, in Dutch. See *Uitenb. Eccles. Hist.* p. 144. & *Henr. Antonid. Præf. ad Syst. Theol.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sleid. Comment.* p. 325, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Sleid. ib. Corput's Life of Melancthon.* p. 500.

<sup>4</sup> *Sleid.* p. 167, 216, &c. *Hist. Conc. Trid.* p. 223. *2æ Icon.* p. H, 1111.

much in behalf of the Pope, as he had before writ against him ; for which purpose they lent him a Bible, and some of the ancient Fathers, with Pen, Ink and Paper. Having staid there about two Years, he was released from thence in *December 1551*, upon good Security that he would not go out of his House. *Sonninus* kept him in this condition a Year and half, till *Whitsuntide 1553*, and then they suffered him to go where he pleased, after strictly charging him to repair to *Louvain* within a certain time, and there to study the School-Divinity. He was to be maintained by saying Mass and singing in the Choir, as he discovered by the Letters directed to some of the Divines at *Louvain*, and which he broke open : In the said Letters it was likewise desired that they would watch over his Behaviour, and give an Account thereof to *Sonninus*. Thus, says he in the said Preface, I was reduced to great streights : I must either suffer my poor Mother and the rest of my Friends, who have given great Bail for me, to come into grievous Troubles, or Act against my Conscience, and Damn my own Soul. Now tho' I was resolved by no means to engage my self in the Idolatry of the Mass, yet I went to *Louvain*, but I left it on the third Day, without seeing any of the Divines of that City. Then he goes on, and says, that he went from thence to *Strasbourg*, where he writ *The Lay-man's Guide*. His Conscience urged him to repair the scandal he had given by Recanting, with an open Confession of his Faith. He therefore humbly

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bly besought all that were present at or had heard of his Misfortune (so he terms his Recantation) to forgive him for *Jesus* sake, and like good Christians to accept of his Labours. I hope, added he, *by the help of God, to continue stedfast henceforwards in the Truth; and I recommend it to all Pastors, diligently to attend to their Functions, and to preserve themselves from Dangerous Recantations.* This little Tract of his handled the Articles of our Christian Faith pretty much upon the foot of the *Ausburg* Confession, as *Melancthon* thinks, particularly those relating to *Free-will* and *Predestination*. Having shown in the said Book what kind of *Free-will* God had bestowed on Mankind, and graciously continued after the Fall, whereby we may yeild to or resist the Attraction from God, he adds: *That he does not mean, that by the strength of our own Free-will we can merit the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, much less can we merit Heaven ——— and that therefore his Notions have nothing in common with the Pelagians and other Sects, who do too much exalt the Power of Man, and bring down the Merits of Christ— But the Predestinarians, continues he, do also affirm, that those who are Called can neither improve nor prejudice their Salvation; but if God has Elected them, they must necessarily be Saved; and if Reprobated, or not Elected, as necessarily continue in a State of Damnation. Likewise that all Good Actions and all Sins are committed necessarily. This Opinion is (I think) prejudicial to Men, and ought not to be entertained.*

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For if it were so, then would God's Secret will shock and contradict his Revealed, and he would take Pleasure in our Perishing. Besides, many Good Men would be embarrassed in their Prayers, and always doubt whether they were of the Number of the Elect. Wicked Men would be yet Bolder, and screen even their worst Actions behind the Doctrine of Predestination, as some have already begun to do. When Christ speaks to the whole Congregation by the Minister in these Words: Repent and believe the Gospel: Mark i. Matt. vii. 7. And again, Ch. xi. v. 28. and Ezek. xviii. 32. it plainly follows, that he equally offers his Salvation to all those whom with uniform gracious Expressions he invites into one Temple; or else he must mean differently from what he says. A little farther he speaks thus: The Primitive Christians did all agree in these Sentiments the first four hundred Years, as all the Fathers both Greek and Latin testify——Among the Catholick Writers, Austin was the first Predestinarian, and had entertain'd the Notions of FreeWill full 20 Years before he writ. The earliest Christianity was the Purest; for which reason, their Opinions ought to be not a little esteemed; especially the general Consent of the Doctors of the first Ages. But it must be own'd also, that some have carried Human Power too High. And it cannot but a little affect us, that the Martyrs who shed their Blood for Jesus Christ, were of the same Opinion——Speaking again of Predestination in a Chapter by its self, he uses these Words: *Here we must*

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*hold with the Primitive Christians, that God has eternally Decreed within himself, to help and save by his Holy Spirit such Persons, who use all possible means to be Instructed, and continue obedient when they are called ; and in like manner to strengthen and confirm others in the way of Salvation who earnestly beg the same of him. And on the other hand, that he has Decreed to Damn others who do not obey their Call——*

*In this sence are all the Expressions to be understood, that are produced against us, as in the 13th Chap. of the Acts, Those that were ordain'd to Eternal Life, did Believe. The meaning whereof was, that God had so ordained, that those should be drawn to Salvation who suffered themselves to be Instructed in the Word of God ; and that it was for such obedient Persons that the Father has given his Son. John xvii. And those he has chosen in Christ ; Ephes. i. and Predestinated according to his Fore-knowledge. Rom. viii. That the Drawing which our Saviour mentions in John. vi. implies, that our very small Power must be assisted by the Word of God, and by his Spirit. That by Preaching and Reading the Holy Scriptures we are drawn and induced to make use of our poor Free-will, and to pray for the Help of God. Thus God works in us a Good Will. Phil. ii.*

*In his Chapter about the Punishment of Hereticks, he vehemently opposes the putting them to Death : Christ, says he, forbid the Apostles to burn the Unbelievers, or to call upon God for that purpose, or to advise Men to such Acts of*

*Cruelty.*

*Cruelty. Luke ix. Think likewise on the Parable of the Tares. Mat. xiii. And his Command, only to avoid the False Prophets. Mat vii and xxiv. Luke xxi. And Paul requires, Tit. ii. That Hereticks be admonished, and if they continue obstinate, then to be shunned and avoided. And in ii Cor. x. he says, our Weapons are not Carnal. See likewise Revel. ii and iii. concerning the Sword that issues out of the Mouth of the Bishops.—— True Christianity is for Persecuting no-body —— Good Christians have always dealt tenderly with Hereticks, without Tyranny or Bloodshed : But the Hereticks and other Infidels have always persecuted and slain the Orthodox. Take warning by the Jews, Heathens, Arrians and Mahometans, who all dispute with the Sword of the Faith, as also the Donatists, of whose Tyranny and Cruelty see Austin L. lxxviii. Ch. xxii —— But the cruellest of all are the Popish Monks and Bishops —— O ! if the first Christians were to return to the World, what would they say of such Blood-thirsty Tyranny ! They are embittered beyond measure against the Poor Anabaptists. Is it not repugnant to Nature, Reason and Justice to put to Death, for past Mistakes, a Man of good Morals, and who is ready to be set right ? Tho' it were lawful to murder Hereticks, such Men ought to be spared, because they can not be called Hereticks. The Sword of the Emperor should be turned against such Persons who wilfully do any Wrong to their Neighbours —— But they, who while they mean well, are deceived, or are so slow and*



dull of Understanding as not to be capable of better Instruction, ought by no means to suffer on that Account ——— Some Officers and Judges do imprison and put to Death these Anabaptists merely to keep their Fat Employments ; Others, that they may inherit to, and divide the spoil of those poor Creatures. Such Judges would have killed even our Saviour and his Apostles rather than have lost their Places. Where it is the Practice to put to Death Anabaptists of Good and Peaceable Lives, there likewise they would put to Death all those Orthodox People whom they call Lutherans. They would be glad if all the Lutherans had but one Neck, to the end that they might cut it off at one Stroke, as Caligula wish'd concerning the People of Rome. Here I call to witness the Bitter Consciences of the Monks, Sophists and Heretick-hunters of Louvain : They are always prepared to kill us, but few of us are ready and prepared stedfastly to confess the Noble Truths of Christ. Both which things are to be lamented. What shall we be able to say at the Tribunal of our Lord, that we are not able to Live as irreproachably, and to dye as courageously in the defence of our True Faith, as some of the Anabaptists in their Errors ? It is to be lamented that they are so grievously mistaken in the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ, in Matters relating to the Government, to the Church, and about Infant-baptism ; but that some of them Live so uablameably, and Dye so bravely for all those Articles which they think to be Divine, is in some sort to be commended, and should stir

us up to be more constant and persevering in our own Faith, which we judge to be more conformable to the Word of God; and at the same time we ought to be ashamed, that so many of us who go by the Name of the Evangelical, lead such ungodly Lives, and so easily Apostatize from our Religion, and accept of the Interim. That Lawful Command of putting to Death False Prophets, and the Worshipper of Idols, which we meet with in the 13th, 17th and 18th Chapters of the Fifth Book of Moses, is changed by Christians into Excommunications, as Paul gives us to understand in the 5th Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, by quoting the 17th Chapter of the abovementioned Book. See likewise the Writings of the Ancient Interpreters and Commentators upon Moses. —

If Hereticks be to be put to Death, those Papists have mostly deserved such a Fate, who advise Princes to Protect and Defend all Papal Heresies, and cruelly to slay all Christians that oppose them, as some Bishops, Monks and other Priests have done, especially those who are Inquisitors and Bloody Judges of the Poor Christians. Such Baalites were slain by the Prophet Elijah and by King Jehu — I doubt the Monks and Priests will cry so long for Fire, Water and the Sword, till God shall raise up another Jehu or Josiah, who will use them as they have treated many Thousands of Christians within the space of a few Years.

The END of the Third Book.

in the Low Countries  
... to be more constant and persevering in  
... which we have seen  
... the Word of God  
... ought to be observed  
... by the Name  
... of the Holy Spirit  
... and the Father  
... Amen



The Rite of the Holy Eucharist  
... which we have seen  
... the Word of God  
... ought to be observed  
... by the Name  
... of the Holy Spirit  
... and the Father  
... Amen



*Gerrard Brandt's*

# HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION

And other Ecclesiastical EVENTS

IN THE

LOW-COUNTRIES.

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## BOOK IV.

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N the midst of this Bloody Persecution, which fell mostly upon the Anabaptists, that Sect did nevertheless increase thro'out the whole Country; but there abounded among them such a Self-conceitedness, as induced many of them to believe at last, that the only true Christian Church was among them, and that out of their



their Church (the sole Ship of *Peter*) there was no Salvation.

From this Opinion resulted a *Narrowness* which did not only cause them to mistake Humane Positions for Divine Commands, but also produced a certain Excommunication, whereby they excluded all such as were not of their Sect and (as they soon disagreed among themselves one another too, as far as in them lay, out of Heaven.

The Abuse of these Ecclesiastical Censures and Excommunications, which are said to have arisen long before the Year 1550, was the occasion of great and numberless Schisms and Divisions among them for very slight Reasons: Consisting as some think, in two Things chiefly: First, because they applied their Excommunications to other Cases than those for which our Saviour *Christ* bound and excluded Men from Heaven. Secondly, they exercised the same with so much Rigour and Strictness, and laid so great Weight on them, that they thereby rendred other and no less necessary Commands of the Gospel, void and of no Effect; just as if the Use of Excommunication, which was only instituted for Order, were so great and important a Command of our Lord, that all other Commands, even such as related to Morality it self, must give place to it. *J. H. V. P. N.* or *Charles of Gant*, who in the Year 1578, serv'd as Secretary to the Anabaptists in the Dispute of *Emden* (as he tells us himself

<sup>1</sup> See S. Episcop. on Matth. V. p. 473.

himself in the Relation of the Rise and Progress of the Differences among the Anabaptists) testifies, that these People punish'd with Excommunication such as fell into any one of those open Sins mention'd in the 5th Chapter of the *Ephesians* and elsewhere, without any previous Admonition; even tho' the guilty Person shew'd ever so great Sorrow, and bewail'd his Transgressions. He adds too, that no Penance of the Excommunicated Person could be done in the House of a Brother or Sister, nor even in the House of the Offender himself, if his Wife were a Member of the Church, but only without, and in a *Worldly House*, so they phras'd it; nor might he come into any of their Assemblies, unless he humbly pray'd for such a Favour. Every Person during his Excommunication was to have no Fellowship nor Conversation with any of the Brothers or Sisters in the same Faith, nor even with any Relations, nor with the Partner of his Bed, nor follow his ordinary Calling.

This Rigorous way of proceeding against Offenders was oppos'd by other Anabaptists in *Waterland* and *Franaker* about the Years 1554, or 1555. They asserting, that Excommunication

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\* This J. H. V. P. N. of whose Account of the Schism among the Anabaptists we had made use of in relating the Matters which concern that Sect, affirms in his Preface to the abovementioned Treatise, that he had faithfully and impartially noted the things that he himself had inquired into, seen and heard, and found to be true, touching their Disputes and Divisions, for the space of fifty Years. And indeed most of those Anabaptists that lament their mutual Separations, do own the Impartiality of his Pen. This Man Writ in the Year 1615, and in the 73d of his Age.

tion ought not to be practised till after three Admonitions, according to the Rule in the 18th Chapter of St. *Matthew*. But these were overruled by the other violent Party, Excommunicated, and thrown out. The Moderate Anabaptists being in this manner cut off, and divided from their Brethren, became a Particular Sect and Community under the name of the *Franekerians* or *Waterlandians*: But *Leonard Bouwars*, one of their greatest Enemies, (who from a Skipper became a Teacher) gave them the Nick-name of *Dung-carts*, because, according to him, they took up and admitted all kinds of Filth and Ordure; tho' there was not in those Days so much Depravity, Immorality and vile Doings to be found among the *Waterlandians*, as among those that had cast them off.

<sup>1</sup> *Menno Simons* endeavour'd to prevent this Schism, but the Love of Divisions had no Room for his Council. In his Letter, dated the 13th of *November*, to the Bretheren at *Franeker*, he represented to both the contending Parties what displeas'd him in their Conduct: On the one hand he advis'd them not to use Excommunication till after Admonition; which however he says he, we do not mean with respect to such flagrant Crimes as immediately require the Punishment of the Magistrate. On the other hand he blamed their Excommunicating all Carnal Persons without preceding Reproofs, and even those

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<sup>1</sup> *These Articles are in the Book de Succes. Anab. p. 79.*

that were penitent ; as also their obliging People to do Penance out of the Community ; and even holding for Carnal and Worldly Persons those who after falling thro' Infirmary had publicly acknowledged and bewailed their Transgressions. Moreover, that it gave him great Offence, that People should be obliged to excuse before the Congregation, those who had with Sorrow and Contrition of Heart confessed their Secret Sins to them, on pain of being treated after the same manner as the Offenders themselves. After reproving them for these things, he advises them to Prudence and Peace, and ends his Letter thus : " If you have used any hard Words or contumelious Language against one another, purify your Hearts and reconcile your Selves in *Christ Jesus*. Remember you are the Lord's People, called in Peace, put under the Cross, separated from the World, hated to the Death. If ye be baptized in one Spirit, fulfil ye my Joy, and be of one Mind in *Jesus Christ* : Build up, but do not pull down : Instruct one another in Love : Do not *Tear* nor *Rend* each other ; but let saving Peace subsist among all God's Children, and continue unviolated among us all for ever and ever.

\* At *Emden* there likewise happen'd something about the same time which promoted the schism occasioned by the Excommunication and the dividing Husbands and Wives from each other,

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\* See Menno's Summary. p. 421



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other, which was a necessary Consequence of the former. *Swaen Rutgers* an Anabaptist Woman, refused to avoid all Conversation at *Be* and Board with her Husband who had been excommunicated. Some of the Heads of that Sect were of Opinion, that she might be born with therein, she being otherwise a Person of Fame; but other leading Men were of the contrary Opinion. Each side had its Followers. Thereupon they writ to *Menno*, intreating his Advice and Assistance. He declared for the Moderate Party and in the Letter he writ to the Brethren at *Embsden*, which we have already mentioned he cited one of the Articles made in a little Synod of Seven Ministers and several Elders in the Year 1554, at *Wismar*, upon such an Occasion and then gives it as his Opinion; *That those things should be determined according to the particular Circumstances; that the surest Rule they could follow was to press nothing upon People against their Conscience, but bear with them in Love and Meekness: For I hope, continued he, that each Godly Person is so well instructed of the Lord, that if either the Husband or the Wife be Perjured, or a Thief, or given to Witchcraft, or an Offender of such a kind, that he must bear his Punishment from the Magistrate on account of his wicked Actions; or if thro' Temptations and Promises, or Threats and violent Usage, it shall happen that the Preservation of their Faith become incompatible with their Marriage-state; in such case it may be lawful to separate from each other: But if the Man or the*

*Woman*

Woman be allowed to continue in their Religion, and be moreover perswaded, that so long, they ought not in Conscience to part, let 'em remain together, seeing that they are one Flesh, and have lived with each other for Years as became Married People; for there may result great Scandal and Danger from their Separation; since we all bear Flesh and Blood about us. In such cases as these may our Merciful God preserve me from teaching or consenting that a Soul which thinks itself bound, and in all other things has walked in the fear of the Lord, that he or she should be put to Excommunication. I am therefore exceedingly troubled to hear that Swaen Rutgers has accordingly been put under Excommunication for a certain time, after which, if she do not forsake her Husband, she is to be cast out, and delivered up to Satan. O my Elect Brethren, take care what you do, what a Handle are you going to give against your selves to the Blasphemers! What an evil Report are you bringing upon the word of the Lord, and upon the Congregation! How many People are you driving away from the Truth! Thus we never yet durst offer this for Common Doctrine, because we foresaw the Inconveniencies that might result from thence. Would to God we had continued in this Opinion. How would it have made me Glad! My Soul shall never consent to these improper Measures. My Desires are, and my Endeavours shall be according to the best of my poor Talents, to teach such a Gospel that may Build, but not pull down, that shall carry with it a sweet Savour

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*Savour, but not a stinking one. Nor do I intend to disturb the Work of the Lord with a Business of which I can see no sure Event. I cannot live by, nor lean upon the Faith of another; I must make use of my own, as the Spirit of the Lord has taught me out of his Holy Word. Thus you have my Opinion and my Answer. The Lord enable you to comply therewith unanimously in Peace and Unity: That you be not too strict, nor too remiss. Excommunication is instituted for Reformation, not for Destruction. O that you were all like-minded with me herein! How cautiously would this Matter be managed? Now every body follows his own Fancies, and thinks them to be of the Spirit and Word of God. Lord grant them thy Spirit and Wisdom, that they may see and Judge aright. Take care to hold the Unity of the Spirit in the Band of Peace. Thus far Menno; but these peaceful Lessons and Exhortations had no Effect, for the Schism went on at *Emden*. After much Contestation, *Naeldman*, *Haines*, *Schedemaker* and their Followers, who were for Moderate Councils, were overcome by the Rigids, at the Head of whom were *Philips* and *Bowens*, were Condemn'd, Excommunicated and Cast out; and all such at then and since, at several times and places, have opposed Excommunication, are called *Waterlandians* and *Franeckerians*. Menno kept himself Neuter at first, afterwards he seemed more Doubtful, and as *Schedemaker* and his Followers affirm, and indeed as appears by his own Writings, would have fallen in with them, if*

he had not dreaded the same Excommunication. *Leonard Bowens* told him plainly, he must take their part, or be contented to see them Divided into two Sects; but others were of Opinion that no side was to be taken, and that a Man should keep himself Free, and that embracing the violent Side could not hinder, much less heal, the Division into two Parties, which was already done. And possibly he design'd by this Behaviour to set up a third Party, and put himself at the Head of it. In short, their Disputes rose to such a Height, that *Menno* found himself at last obliged to joyn with the *Franekerians*.

After this *Leonard Bowens* and others of his Party went to *Cologne* to propagate their Notions among the *German* Anabaptists; but they would not hear of them, especially of those relating to Separation between Husband and Wife. *Syles* and *Lemkes*, who were Teachers among the *German*s, maintained, that the Brother or Sister, whose Spouse was Fallen, or Excommunicated, might be left to their Liberty to stay with, or leave their Yoke-Fellow, according as their Consciences directed them. This occasioned fresh Divisions; they separated from the *German*s as from Worldly Persons, strengthen'd the Schism with an external Token of a new Rebaptisation, and the *German* Baptism, which they allowed before, was now holden by them as Null and Invalid. A certain Brother among the *German*s who had formerly sat down at *Franeker*, and was received into the Community there, had had been chosen a *Minister of the Word*,



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was now required to be rebaptiz'd together with others, which if he refused, as thinking his first Baptism to be Good, he was to be depriv'd of the *Brotherhood*, and shut out of the Congregation.

After these things, that is, in the Year 1558 *Menno* writ his *Explanation of the Apostolica Excommunication*. Here he maintain'd the absolute Necessity of Divorces; relating among other matters, that he had known above three hundred Married Persons, who had fallen away and were, said he, in a State of Perdition, because they had not observed the Rule of Divorces; and he feared lest this Evil might have happen'd in some measure, by his bare Silence. He was therefore resolv'd now to speak out and prevent his own Destruction, by bearing his Testimony for the Necessity of such Separations. Here he also declares, that scandalous carnal Sinners, such as Whoremongers, Adulterers, Drunkards and the like, ought, without any intervening Admonition, to be cut off from the Congregation of the Lord.

*Richard Philips*, in a Book which he publish'd this Year about *Casting Persons out of the Church*, maintain'd, That a true Penitent ought to be very well satisfied that his proper Punishment (meaning thereby Excommunication) was laid upon him by the Lord, and by the Congregation. This Doctrine gave great Offence; especially since it was known that *Menno* with *Richard* and the Chiefs of the Elders of their Community being assembled in the Country of *Mecklenburg*

had forgiven *Giles van Aken* that Infamous Adulter-  
er, and without any Excommunication or Cast-  
ing out had receiv'd him for their Brother, up-  
on his Confessing his Sin, begging Forgiveness,  
and Promising Amendment.

The said *Giles van Aken*, a Presbyter or Bishop  
among the Anabaptists, was upon a certain time,  
which is not exprest in the Memoirs from  
whence I have this Story, seiz'd upon, and  
thrown into Prison at *Antwerp*, but to save him-  
self, and out of Dread of the Fire, abjured his  
Religion; Yea he went so far, upon promise of  
Life, as to undertake that some of his Fellow-  
prisoners should Recant with him. But his Plot  
was found out, and made known to some of them,  
whereupon they would not hearken to him;  
and one *Hans de Buscher*, an Elder likewise a-  
mong those People, found means, at the hazard  
of his Life, to speak with *Van Aken* in the Pri-  
son, where he set his wicked Intentions so strong-  
ly before his Eyes, that he testify'd his Sorrow  
for his Sin. Thereupon he was again admit-  
ted into the *Brotherhood*; however he was Be-  
headed as an Apostate, for he had made known  
his Conversion. He was attended upon the Scaf-  
fold with a Confessor, and he was heard to say,  
just before his Execution, that *It was too much*  
*to lose Soul and Body together.*

The Rigour of Excommunication, which we  
mentioned above, extended it self not only to  
the publick Works of the Flesh (out of which,  
for the most part, were excepted Avarice, Self-  
interest, Partiship, Pride, Ostentation and Sen-  
suality)

uality) and to False Doctrines and Heresies not understood by them who named them, for but even to incautious Expressions; yea they excommunicated one another for Mistakes and Diversity of Sentiments.

In order to render Divorces and Separation between Men and their Wives more effectual they used sometimes to hide or carry away the Wife from the excommunicated Husband without and against his Consent; insomuch, that some Men did not know in a long time, and some never what was become of their Wives. By this sort of Separation much greater Evils were produced, for it drove some to violate their Matrimonial Bed, others to Despair, and even to Self-murder.

They likewise excommunicated and shut out of Heaven all such as married out of their Assemblies, that is to say, such as entered into the Conjugal State with Persons of another Sect whereby they did not mean *Jews, Heathens, or Idolaters*, but those who made Profession of their Faith in different Congregations from theirs or at least not in theirs. This they called *Marriages without*: Neither would they Absolve those that contracted such Marriages nor admit them into their Communion till they had prevailed upon their Spouses to enter into the same with them, or until they were parted by Death; no, notwithstanding they had repented themselves of such Out-marriages.

And to give the greater strength to their Excommunications and such kind of Separations between Man and Wife, they agreed upon and established

following Order : That none of their Community who had cast his Eye upon any particular Person, with intention of taking her to Wife, should be allowed to speak to her or woo her himself, but make known his mind to a Minister of God's Word, take his Advice in the Matter, and make use of his Intervention. Now if the Minister did not approve of the Marriage, or had a mind to marry the young Woman to another, he was at Liberty to do it : But if he did not oppose the Marriage, and it took effect, then the Pastors or Ministers met together, called first the Bridegroom before them, and afterwards the Bride, and strictly examined them upon several Articles of their Faith, as profest in their Sect, and particularly about Excommunications and Divorces. The first Question was, Whether they entirely and in all things agreed with their Community ? The Second, Whether if it should so happen that either of them were excommunicated, the obedient Person, he or she, would faithfully, and in conformity to the rest of their Brethren, avoid all Conversation with his or her Spouse ? To which if they did not answer in the Affirmative, the Marriage was not suffered to proceed. And the Parties were obliged to make the same Profession and Promise in the Face of the Congregation upon the Day of their joyning in the Band of Matrimony. And forasmuch as some presumed to marry whilst these things were in Agitation, without knowledge of the Ministers, it was deemed a grievous Sin, and their Cohabitation, open Adultery or Whoredom, which was



punish'd by Excommunicating them. But this Order has since grown Obsolete.

In the Book or Relation abovemention'd there is likewise notice taken of other Quarrels among the Anabaptists, of a much earlier date: The first was in the Year 1547, between *Menno* and *Richard Philips* on the one side, and *Francis Kuper* and *Adam Pastoor* on the other.

There were two private Consultations between *Menno* and his Friends thereupon; the first was holden at *Embsen*, the second at *Goch*. *Pastoor* leaned to the Opinions of the *Arrians*, for which he was excommunicated by *Richard Philips* and *Kuper* who relapsed to Popery, by *Menno*, *Henry van Freen*, and *Anthony van Keulen* separated from the Anabaptists about the Year 1550, but we find very little account of the Motives and true Circumstances of these Differences.

But in the Year 1553, the Low-Country Exiles, who in the Time of *Edward* the Sixth had gathered a Congregation at *London*, which after his Death was dispersed by *Queen Mary* after a dreadful Northern Journey, (in which they suffered so much from the *Lutherans*) found at *Wisnar* two distinct Communities of the Anabaptists; one of which sided with *Menno*, who was then present; and the other consisted of Persons Excommunicated by him, for no other reason, but because they sometimes frequented the *Lutheran Churches*, in the Belief that

\* Vid. Joh. Uitenhov. Simp. & Fid. Narrat. and Corporis Divine Tribunal. p. 159.

that they were at Liberty to hear the Pastors of that Perswasion, as well as their own; and that no body ought to deprive them of that Liberty.

2 At the same time also there arose a Dispute between *Hermes Bakkareel*, and *Martin Mikron*, Teachers during the Banishment with *Menno*, concerning the Power of the Magistrate in the use of the Sword, Divorces, the Incarnation of our Saviour, and particularly about that bold and rash Judgment of *Menno*, whereby all Persons, and especially Ministers, who did not agree in every Point with him were condemn'd as Worldly and Carnal Men. Thus were *Menno's* good Intentions attended with Human Passions and Infirmities; for it must be owned that he Laboured very much, and contributed a great deal towards the Reformation of Doctrine and Manners: And in the midst of his fierce Zeal there appeared sometimes the Rays of Moderation and good Temper amongst and towards his own People; but his Stiffness against others, and the concurrent Temerity and Self-conceitedness of the most violent of his Fellow-Labourers, whom he durst not oppose as much as he would, or else his own Unsteadiness darken'd, as some think, the Brightness of his other Qualities. That he had too much conceded to the Opinions of *R. Philips*, *L. Bowens* and *G. van Acken*, he himself, before he dy'd, was sensible of, and acknowledged; at least some of the most

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\* Ib. p. 123.

| See *Menno's* Admonition to the Learned, &c.

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moderate Anabaptists do not deny it, yea some of them affirm, that *Falkard Martson*, a Man of Learning and of Credit among the Anabaptists, who are now called the *Free-landers*, and Father of *Richard Folkard Velius* (famous also for his Learning, and for his Chronicle of *Hoorn*) related how *Menno*, lying upon his Death-bed, gave this last Lesson to those that stood about him: *Be not Servants of Men, as I have been.* 1 He dy'd in a Field near *Oldenslow* between *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, on the 13th of *January*, in the Year 1559, and in the 66th of his Age. 2 There were yet other Anabaptists who, after the Schism at *Embsden*, were doubtful for a while what side to take; and at last embraced that which is called the *House or Family of Love*. That House was suspected of being more addicted to Carnal than Spiritual Love. 3 *Henry Nicolas*, a *Westphalian*, born at *Munster*, : but who had lived a great while at *Amsterdam*, and some time likewise at *Embsden*, 4 was the Father of this House. 5 This Man appeared upon the Stage about the Year 1540; he stiled himself the *Deify'd Man*; boasted of great matters, and seem'd to exalt himself above Human things. He was, as he says of himself, greater than *Moses* and *Christ*, because *Moses* had taught Mankind to *Hope*, *Christ* to *Believe*, but He to *Love*; which last being of more value than both the former, he was consequently greater than both those

1 Hist. of Anab. Mart. p. 129.

2 Chron. van Twisk. p. 1975.

3 Succes. Anab. p. 86.

4 H. A. Vander Lind. Pref.

p. B. III.

4 Koornbert. L. p. 58.

5 Gaspar Finkhousen.

those Prophets. 1 For this reason, says he, *Moses* abode in the Court of the Sanctuary, *Christ* had the Ministration of Faith in the Holy Place, 2 and he himself that of Love in the most Holy Place: 3 So that he was not like *John the Baptist*, a Fore-runner of *Christ*, but *Christ* was rather a Type of him. 4 He talks of his Humanity, and of the Existence of his Deity — As likewise of the Kingdom of *Israel* which was to be raised and establish'd at this time in his Ministry. 5 Some of his Children or Disciples esteem'd his Writings above those of the Holy Pen-men: 6 but others who were for embracing no Humane Doctrines till they were convinced of the Truth of them, nor would acknowledge them for true till they had try'd them by the only Touch-stone, the Word of God, were of Opinion, that 7 among the Works of all the Writers in the Sects of that Age, there were none that had less Method, Order, Proofs, Conclusions, Sense or Truth than these of *Henry Nicolas*; which were nothing but a Rhapsody of incoherent Matters, aping the Stile and Manner of the Prophecies, and entirely void of Judgment, Learning and Wisdom; but abounding throughout with vain Boastings, and impudent Applications of all those Prophecies relating to *Christ* (and which are declared by the Apostles to have been fulfilled in him) to his own Person. 8 He scraped an Acquaintance with *Richard Koornhert* (whom we shall have frequent

<sup>1</sup> Vander Lind. ib.

<sup>2</sup> See his Looking-glass, and Koornhert's Confutar. p. 144.

3 4 6 6 7 8 Koornhert 3 Vol.



frequent occasion to mention in the Sequel of this History) endeavouring to bring him under his Yoke; for which purpose he shewed him several of his Books, and among the rest his *Looking-glass of Righteousness*, which had not then been printed. *Koornbert* confuted him out of the Holy Scripture, but he vouchsafed him no other Answer, than by saying: *Wisdom is always justified of her Children*; and it so fell out, as he himself affirm'd, that his Spirit commanded him three times to make no Reply to *Koornbert's* Reasons; but *Koornbert* thought it was, because he could not. 1 A learned Author writes, that the Children of this *House of Love* perswaded themselves that they only were the *Elect* of God, and all others *Reprobates*; as also, that it was lawful for them to Deny, even with an Oath, what they pleased, to wit, in relation to Magistrates and all others who were not of their Community. Some of 'em suffered themselves to be so far transported with the Frantick Notions that resulted from their Doctrines as to imagine themselves to be *God*. 2 *Koornbert* writes, that in the Year 1577, he had with great concern heard the same from the Mouths of two Persons at his own House, and that he could hardly have believed it otherwise, tho' he had frequently heard it affirm'd. He represented the Folly and Blasphemy of such Opinions to one of them named *N.* after this manner: First *Koornbert* ask'd him: *Do you believe that God*

\* Camb. Anal. Reg. Eliz. |  
p. 301.

2 Koornhert. 3. 58.

is without Beginning and Ending, and that he is Everlastingly Happy? To which N. answer'd, Yes. K. Can any one be Happy without being Joyful? N. No. K. No body is Joyful without knowing that he is so, and why. N. Right, for Happiness can't be without Joy. K. You answer well; but pray tell me, how Old are you? N. About five and forty Years. K. Say then, did you not observe with Pleasure about eighty Years ago, that you were Happy? N. Eighty Years ago I was not in being, how could I then Rejoyce, or know any thing of my Happiness? Methinks you mock me Koornbert. No, replied Koornbert, O worldly Man! but you mock me, whilst you falsely boast your self to be God, for God is Eternal, and Happy, and Joyful; but you are not so.

About a Month after there came to him another named M. of the same Sect, and he likewise pretended to be God. Koornbert said: 'Tis not long since I had such another God as you here, and convinced him of his Error. Did you only pretend to be Divine, that might be endured; but to say you are God, is as Falsly as Blasphemously spoken. The other replied: you suffer me to say I am something Divine, what Difference is there between that, and saying, I am God? K. A great deal: We find Men who thro' Grace have been made Partakers of the Divine Nature, and may therefore very properly be term'd Divine, but there is but one self-existing God. 'Tis the same Difference as between being Enlighten'd, and being the very  
Light

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*Light itself.* Having thus said, *Koornbert* brought the Man into a Chamber where the Sun shined, and continued thus ; *Now, that you are enlightened, or shined upon by the Sun, I see, and know plainly : But because you do partake of its Rays after this manner, can you with any Truth affirm, that You are the Sun itself ? And if you would yet be more fully convinced that You are not the Sun, pass into the Shadow, or into my dark Cellar, and see then whether You be the Light, or can enjoy any Part thereof ; and yet it would be so, if You yourself were the Light or Sun.* Then *Koornbert* asked him farther : *Does not God know all our Thoughts ?* *M.* Yes, he does. *K.* Tell me then the Secrets of my Heart. *M.* I shall not communicate such great Mysteries to one that mocks me. *K.* Neither shall I believe such great Boasters. These were some of the Fruits of their Divisions.

In the Histories of these Times there is likewise mention made of another Sect, which was called *Libertines*, or *Free-Thinkers* (the same Name was likewise apply'd to *Henry Nicolas* and his Followers :) They were People that had little or no Value for the whole Worship of God, as revealed by his Word, for the Ministry, or any open Confession of Faith ; they never frequented either Churches or Conventicles, but with Worldly Views ; they looked upon all Religions to be the same, and that it was a very indifferent matter, whether they adhered to that or this Persuasion, conforming to the Times and to the strongest Side : They were of opinion, that

that it was lawful to dissemble their Opinions in Religious Matters. The Popish Churches swarmed with such Fellows at this time, and these Hypocrites were the greatest Enemies of the poor People that suffered Martyrdom for their Faith.

*Henry Anthony vander Linden* reckons among these Free-Thinkers *Adrian Fossenbol* a Lawyer, and *Balthasar*, Prior of the *Dominicans* at *Antwerp*; and he thinks, that these kind of Men had made use of the Book of *Sebastian Frank*, concerning whom *Luther* says, *That he had wallowed in the Dung of all Mankind, and at last was choaked with his own.* But *Frank* in his own Justification replied, *That he kept himself Neuter between all the different Sects, without Approving or Condemning any of them.*

In the mean while the *Low-Countries* found themselves under the Yoke of another Master, and of a greater Persecutor of the *Reformed*, than his Father whom they had lost.

In the Month of *October* 1555, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth divested himself of his Imperial and Royal Dignities: To his Son *Philip* he resigned his *Low-Countries*, together with *Spain*, the *Indies*, and all that belonged to that Crown; but as to *Germany*, over which his Father had before in vain attempted to place him, he was shut out from thence by his Uncle *Ferdinand*. At the same time Queen *Mary* took her leave of the States.

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\* Hooft's *Hist.* L. III. Borr. L. I. Strada. L. I. Thuan. L. XVI. p. 767, &c. Hist. Conc. Trid. L. V. p. 345.



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This Resignation of the greatest Dominions in Christendom, had been meditated by the Emperor above thirty Years before, as <sup>1</sup> some think; but <sup>2</sup> others think that to be very improbable. The Occasion of it has likewise been much agitated: <sup>3</sup> Some think he was weary of Publick Affairs, his Health failing him, which he imputed to those Fatigues, as well as his Fortune: Others, that the Stings of his Conscience, on account of several things he had done against it, obliged him to discharge himself from Worldly Matters, that he might timely make his Peace with God; but in this likewise there are various Opinions. <sup>4</sup> Those of the *Romish* Church ascribed one part of his Uneasiness to his having enter'd into a Confederacy with *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, the Pope's mortal Enemy; to his intermeddling with Matters of Religion, and invading the Pope's Province, having by his own Authority caused the Book, entitled *The Interim*, to be writ, printed and dispersed, and endeavoured to establish the Plan of Religion mentioned therein; for having besieged *Rome*, and taken the Pope Prisoner. <sup>5</sup> On the contrary, the Friends of the Reformation replied, That these Events, rightly considered, might be easily justified, but <sup>6</sup> that there were other and much stronger Objections against him; namely, So many

<sup>1</sup> Cam. Vit. Melanct. p. 366.	ver. 9. Ub. Em. p. 934, &c.
<sup>2</sup> Corput's <i>Life</i> of dit. p. 592.	<sup>6</sup> Corput ib. p. 601. Hooft
<sup>3</sup> Hooft <i>ib.</i>	ib. L. I. p. 18, &c. Thuan.
<sup>4</sup> Strada <i>ib.</i>	L. XXI. p. 945, &c. Servit.
<sup>5</sup> Sleid. Com. p. 121. Cal-	Hist. Conc. Trid. L. V. p. 373.
vin. Tract. Theolog. p. 349.	Strada L. I. p. 22.
Ib. Prælect. in Ezech. cap. xx.	

many Wars and Quarrels to subdue *France*; the exciting Troubles and Insurrections in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Cruelties used by the *Spaniards* to make that a Province to their Kingdom; 1 the cheating King *Francis*, that he might procure himself a Passage through his Territories in the Sedition at *Gant*; 2 the drawing the Landgrave of *Hesse* into his Net by a Trick and Equivocation; the Rivers of Blood spilt on Account of Religion; the many Placards against Heresy, which (they said) were writ with Blood rather than Ink, and had cost about fifty thousand Lives. These were the Things which they thought should lie most at his Heart. Whatever it was, it could be no light nor trivial Reasons that occasioned such a Change in the Emperor; 3 but it may with more Justice, or Charity at least, be ascribed to some Godly Motives which Heaven did inspire him with; and his endeavouring to conclude his Days with good Actions, ought to pass for an Argument, that the Resignation of his Crown was the Effect of virtuous Intentions. 4 This, together with his wise Foresight, Constancy, Equanimity under good and bad Fortune, were highly esteemed by all, and not without Cause; to which some add his Piety shining forth in the Zeal and Pains he exerted in composing the Differences in Religion by a lawful Council. But nothing has better proved, as *Thuanus* affirms, the Greatness of his Soul,

2 3 4 Corput. ib. p. 601. Hooft ib. L. I. p. 18, &c. Thuan. L. XXI. p. 146, &c. Servit. Hist. Conc. Trid. L. V. p. 373. Strada. L. I. p. 22.

Soul, than the End of his Life, in which this Mighty Man, accustomed to Conquer others, got the Victory over himself, by freely forsaking a Life subject to so many Misfortunes, before Nature had required it of him; and after having lived for the World, by living for himself and God. Accordingly this Prince was heard often to quote a notable Saying of one of his old Generals, who was better known by his Virtue than his Name: That Gentleman suing for his Dismission, with a Design of quitting his Posts and the World together, was asked by the Emperor, What induced him to take such a strange Resolution, he answered thus: *That there ought to intervene some Space between the Hurry of Life, and the Day of one's Death.* The Emperor applied this Advice to himself, and follow'd it.

People compared this Action of the Emperor, who from his Childhood had been educated and conversant in the greatest Affairs of the World, and who being not much above Fifty Years old, divested himself of all his Greatness, and quitted the World to devote himself wholly to the Service of God, and from a Mighty Prince became an Humble and Pious Monk, <sup>\*</sup> with another Person (*Paul the Fourth*) who had formerly quitted the Episcopal Dignity to betake himself to a Convent; but being not long after chosen Pope, at the Age of about Eighty Years, accepted the Triple Crown, gave himself up entirely

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<sup>\*</sup> Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 365.

tirely to all kind of Pomp, Pride, and to the acquiring a great Name, for the Love of which he set all *Europe* on Fire with the Wars which he had kindled.

In *August* 1556, the Emperor with both his Sisters *Eleanora* and *Mary* sail'd for *Spain*, where he betook himself to the Monastery of *St. Justus*, on the borders of *Castile* near *Placentia*.

<sup>2</sup> About the same time King *Philip* renew'd and confirm'd, by a Placard dated the 20th of *August*, the preceding Placards of his Father against Heresie; particularly that of the 25th of *July* 1550, and made them Perpetual Edicts. And in order to establish the *Inquisition* the better, this Artifice was made use of: It was an ancient Custom that at the beginning of every Reign all those who had Patents or Commissions for any Employments under the Government, should bring them to Court, and there receive others from the new Prince. This was likewise done by the *Inquisitors*, but instead of renewing those private Directions which they used to receive, and which were only Personal, all Judges and other Officers were now openly required by the Placard to be aiding and assisting to the aforesaid *Inquisitors* in the discharge of their Office.

But when this Placard was sent abroad in hopes of its being promulgated every where, without discovering the Alterations made in it, as easily happens on such Occasions, the Trick  
Y was

<sup>22</sup> Strada. L. I. p. 10. and p. 15. Bentivogl. L. I. p. 27, Corpuz ib. p. 525. Borr. L. I. Jac. Wessab. ib. p. 22.



was found out, and the *Inquisition* lost ground instead of getting it. For the Magistrates of *Antwerp* being mindful of what happen'd in the Year 1550, on the like Occasion, were much more cautious in meddling with it than the Government expected; but weighing the Consequences, they foresaw so many Inconveniencies, that they put off the Publication thereof, and sent Deputies to Court to represent what was promis'd them by the late Ministry on account of the *Inquisition* in the said Year 1550, and to say that they could not consent to Publish any such Placard, praying that they might be first heard against it, or at least discharged of their Oath, because of the Storms which they knew would arise thereupon.

The Courage they show'd in this Matter had the desired Effect for the present, for *Philip* being at War with *France*, stood in need of the Kindness of his Subjects, especially those of *Antwerp*, for the sake of their Money; and so the Placard that gave so much Offence was revoked, not only at *Antwerp* but in all the great Towns in *Brabant*, for it had been already promulgated at *Louvain* and *Bois le Duc*.

But this Disagreement about the Reception of it made the Resistance of the City of *Antwerp*, and the Design of the King much more known.

In the mean while the Fire of Persecution wanted no Fewel to feed upon; at *Mons* in *Hainault* two Men being suspected of Heresie, because of their diligent study of the Holy Scriptures, were imprisoned about the beginning of the Year,

Year, and without much inquiry into their Notions of Religious Matters, condemn'd to be Beheaded. And one *Adrian van Loppben*, an Inhabitant of *Bruges*, returning from the Fair of *Frankfort*, and halting at *Ast* in the aforesaid Province, gave his Pack, that was full of Scriptural Books, into the custody of the Mistress of the Inn; she being curious, open'd it in his absence, found some of those Books and shew'd them to a Priest: Upon that, immediately follow'd the Imprisonment of the Owner, and he after some time was burnt to Death in a slow Fire.

About this time also the *Dominicans* at *Lisle* began to charge the Magistrates from their Pulpits of being too slack in putting the Laws in execution against Hereticks, and that they look'd thro' their Fingers at their Assemblies and Conventicles which daily increased. Thereupon they search'd the House of one *Robert Ogulier* one Night from top to bottom, and found some Prohibited Books in it, for he was known to be a Leader of that kind of People. His eldest Son *Baldwin*, whom they chiefly sought for, happen'd to be from Home, but returning in the mean time, was with his Father, Mother and Brother all apprehended together. When they charged the Father of neglecting to go to Mass, and of keeping unlawful Conventicles in his House contrary to divers Placards, he own'd both, and gave the following Answer to the Magistrate; *I do not go to Mass, because the Precious Blood of the Son of God, and his Oblation*  
Y 2 of

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of himself is thereby render'd void and of no Effect; for Christ did by one only Sacrifice perfect for ever those that are sanctified. The Apostle mentions only one Oblation, Heb. x. 14. We read of no Mass in the Holy Scriptures, but only of the Lord's Supper. The Mass is a Human Invention. And Christ tells us in Mat. xv. 9. In vain they do worship me, teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men. I own likewise, continued he, that I have kept Assemblies, or Meetings of good and godly People; but such Meetings were not prejudicial to the Government by any means, but rather promoted the Honour and Glory of our Saviour. I know very well, that this was forbidden; but I knew at the same time that Christ commanded them; so that if I obeyed my Prince, I must disobey my God: I will therefore rather obey the Lord than Men. One of the Magistrates asked him: *What do they do in your Meetings?* Whereupon Baldwin the eldest Son replied: *I will give your Lordships a full Account of that Matter.* Having obtained Leave, he went on thus: *When we are there come together in the Name of the Lord, to hear his Holy Word, we all fall down at once upon our Knees to the Ground, and confess in the Humility of Heart our Sins before the Divine Majesty. Then we all join in the same Prayer; to wit, That God's Word may be purely preached to us, and rightly understood by us. We also pray for our Sovereign Lord the Emperor, and for all his Council, that the Commonwealth may be governed with Peace, and to the Glory of*  
God,

God, And you, my Lords, are not forgotten by us, as our immediate Governors; wherefore we do likewise pray to the Lord for you and this whole City, that he would support you in what is good and just. Do you therefore still believe, that our meeting together for these Purposes can be so criminal as has been represented to you? Moreover, I am ready, if you please, my Lords, to recite these very Prayers before you. Some of the Judges made a Sign to him that he might do it; whereupon he kneeled down before them, and poured forth his Prayer with such a hearty Zeal, Fervency of Spirit, and profound Emotion, that it drew Tears from the Eyes of his Judges; and these, said he, standing up, are the Things that pass in our Conventicles. After this the Prisoners made a Confession of their Faith.

They were likewise put to the Rack to force them to own who frequented their Meetings; but they would name no body, excepting some that were already known or fled. Four or five Days after, the Father and his eldest Son were condemned to the Fire. As they were leading away to Execution, the Monks would have persuaded the Father, that he would at least carry in his Hand an Image of Christ crucified, adding thereto: *Lift up your Heart to God, for you know that this Crucifix is nothing but a piece of Wood*; and thereupon they bound it to his Hands; but Baldwin snatching it out, cry'd: *My Father, what do you mean? Will you turn Idolater at the point of Death? Let us not scan-*  
Y 3 *dalize*



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*dalize the People, continued he, casting away the Image, for we desire to worship no Wooden Christ; for we hear about Christ Jesus, the Son of the Living God, in our Hearts; and we feel his Holy Word written in the bottom of our Hearts in Golden Characters. Mounting the Scaffold, he begg'd Leave to make a Confession of his Faith in the Hearing of the People. But the Answer they made him was: There's your Father Confessor, have you any thing to confess, you may disclose it to him; and at the same time they drew him nearer to the Stake. As soon as he was at it, he began to sing the Sixteenth Psalm, and at the same time one of the Friars cry'd: Heark how they chaunt their vile Errors in order to deceive the People. Whereupon the Martyr replied: Dare you say, that the Psalms of David are Errors? But this is your ancient Practice, to blaspheme the Holy Ghost. Then turning himself to his Father, he said: Be of good cheer, my Father; it will soon be over. Whilst the Executioner was fastening the Old Man to the Stake, he struck him with a Hammer upon the Feet, whereupon he said to him: Friend, you have wounded me; why do you use me thus cruelly? A Monk hearing him say so, cried out: O these Wretches! they would be accounted Martyrs, and yet if they are handled a little roughly, they squall as if they were murdered. To him the Son replied thus: Do you think we can fear Pain or Death? By no means. If we had feared those things, we should never have exposed our Bodies to this shameful End.*

*Then*

Then he repeated the following Words several times : *O God the Eternal Father, grant that this Sacrifice of our Bodies may be acceptable in thy Sight, for the sake of thy well-beloved Son.* Thereupon one of the Monks broke out into this bitter Expression : *Villain, thou liest; God is not thy Father; the Devil only is thy Father.* During this kind of Dialogue, the young Man lift up his Eyes to Heaven, and turning them again upon his Father, he spoke thus to him : *Behold, my Father, I see the Heavens opened, and Millions of Angels surrounding us, rejoicing for the Confession of the Truth which we have made before the World. Let us likewise rejoice for the Glory of God which appears before our Eyes.* One of the Monks scream'd out, and said : *I see Hell gaping, and as many Devils waiting to hurry you away to their Infernal Mansions.* At the same time one of the Standers by call'd out with a loud Voice : *Courage, Baldwin, be of good Heart, your Cause is just; I am one of yours.* Having thus spoke, he escaped through the Crowd, notwithstanding they were encompass'd on every side by the Train'd-Bands, the Officers of the Inquisition, &c. who were all armed. The Father and Son were heard talking with one another in the midst of the Flames, even when they were at the highest; and the Son was observed to encourage his Father, till they both expired. The Reader may meet with other Circumstances of this their Constancy in the Book of Martyrs, particularly that of the *French Impression*; in which we likewise find a certain

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Letter writ by *Baldwin Oguier* to the distressed Congregation at *Lisle*, containing several remarkable Passages; in which he encourages them under their Persecution, warns them against Perversions, and assured them of the Peace of his own Conscience. Amongst other things, he advises them not to forsake their Holy Meetings through fear of their Enemies; *For if, says he, you forsake the Christian Congregations, then assure yourselves there will arise among you a wonderful Disagreement of Languages, much more dangerous than those which happened at the Tower of Babel. Can Satan invent a better Method than this, to crumble you into Sects and Parties? Certainly no. He knows very well, that you learn to speak the same Language and the same Things in the Congregation, and that Charity is thereby increased among you. In short, much Good results from thence, as plainly appears hitherto. Keep therefore to the Apostle's Lesson, Heb. x. 25. Not forsaking the assembling ourselves together. Beware carefully of all false Doctrine, of Deceivers, who are now wandering about the World, such as the Anabaptists, a very dangerous Sect. Avoid likewise those Hypocrites, who whilst they pretend to honour God outwardly, do deny him in their Hearts. There are among you even People of Condition, that are Enemies of the Cross of Christ. The younger Brother Martin did also write Letters of the same Tenor. Their Mother Johanna was prevail'd upon at first by the Monks to recant, and endeavoured to have perverted her Son the said Martin; but*  
when

when she address'd herself to him, he answer'd weeping: *O Mother, what have you done? Have you denyed the Son of God, who redeemed you? What has he done to you, that you should dishonour and injure him in such a Manner? Now is that Misfortune fallen upon me which I most dreaded. O my God, why have I lived to hear that which pierces my Heart with Grief!* These Expressions did so affect the Mother, that she burst into Tears, confessed her Apostacy, and begged Pardon of God in the following Words: *O Lord, cryed she as earnestly as her Son, be merciful to me, hide my Misdeed in the Merits of thy Son. Grant me Strength to abide by my first Confession, and confirm me in it to the last Breath of my Life.* And when the Monks came to her afterwards, she said to them: *Depart, Satans, get you gone, for you have no more share in me. I will subscribe my first Confession, and if I can't do it with Ink, it shall be done with my Blood.* Afterwards this Vessel, which had been so weak and brittle, behaved with as much Courage as her Son, who could not be prevail'd upon either by Threats or Promises. When he was going to speak on the Scaffold, his Mother called to him and said: *Speak out, Martin, that they may know we are no Hereticks.* But they would not suffer him to make any Confession of his Faith before the People. This moved her, whilst they were tying her to the Stake, to say to the By-Standers: *We are Christians; and what we are about to suffer is neither for Theft nor Murder, but because we will not believe any thing*



thing besides the Word of God. Thus they underwent the Fiery Tryal, recommending their Souls to God, about a Week after the Burning of Robert and Baldwin Oguier.

Some *Anabaptists* were likewise put to Death in this Year on account of their Religion. At *Belle in Flanders*, an old Woman and two young Maidens. At *Gant* one Man, at *Antwerp* two, at *Nimwegen* one. At *Beverwick in Holland*, a certain Baker named *Austin* was sentenced to the Fire. As he was going to Execution, he saw one of his Acquaintance, of whom he took Leave, recommending him to God; the other answered him: *I hope we shall meet in Heaven hereafter*. A certain Burgomaster, a violent and blood-thirsty Man, who had said some time before, *That he would provide Turf and Wood to burn the said Baker*, hearing the Man's With, replied: *This Heretick is not bound thither, but will go from hence into Everlasting Fire*. Upon this unmerciful Judgment *Austin* summon'd him to appear within three Days before the Judgment-Seat of God. A sure and dreadful Summons! The Baker being bound to a Ladder, and so thrown into the Fire, had no sooner given up the Ghost, <sup>2</sup> as the *Anabaptists* have recorded it, but the Burgomaster was smitten with a Disease that made him fall into a kind of Madness, of which, crying out all the while, *Turf and Wood, Turf and Wood*, he died on the third Day.

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<sup>1 2</sup> Hist. Anab. Mart. p. 245, &c. Et Lips. Monita & Exempla Polit. p. 146.

On the 22d of *March* 1557, one *Arnold Dirksen*, a *Flemish* Farmer, was burnt at *Monnikeree* on account of his Belief, which was against Popery.

Soon after *Charles Regius*, formerly a *Carmelite* Frier at *Gant*, who having quitted the *Romish* Church, and dwelt a while in *England*, translated the Comment of *John Bale* upon the *Revelations*, and the History of *Francis Spira* into *Dutch*, and by reason of *Queen Mary's* Persecution, fled from thence to *Embden*, was seized at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, whilst he was visiting and strengthening his Brethren of the Reformed Religion in those Parts; where, after many Tryals and Temptations, which he bravely and prudently withstood, the Spiritual Judges declared him a Heretick, degraded and delivered him over to the Secular Arm, by which he was condemned to the Fire, which Death he suffered with Patience and Constancy on the 27th of *April*.

*Angelus Merula*, born at the *Bril* in 1482; (for so far it will be necessary to look back on account of the Martyrdom of this old *Hollander*, in which there are several Circumstances that we shall be obliged to enlarge upon) this Gentleman, I say, having been received Master of Arts at *Paris*, and Licentiate in Divinity, entered into Holy Orders at *Utrecht*, where for the sake of his great Learning and good Manners, he was called by the Heer *Joost van Kruningen*, Lord of the said Place and of several other Towns about him, to the Benefice  
of

of *Henfleet*, in which having with great Diligence applied himself to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, he observed more and more with how many Spots and Errors the Church of *Rome* had been defiled and corrupted, of which he now and then gave some Hints to his People: But not thinking it convenient to reform immediately, and all at once in his Church, those things which he conceived to be inconsistent with the Word of God, he proceeded step by step therein; and began first in the Year 1552, by making some Alterations in the *Mass-Book*, touching the *Merits* and *Mediation* of the *Saints*; which Matters were thus exprefs'd in the said Book: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui nos omnium Sanctorum merita sub una tribuisti celebritate venerari: quæsumus, ut desideratam nobis tuæ propitiationis abundantiam, multiplicatis intercessoribus, largiaris.* That is: *Almighty and Everlasting God, who hast vouchsafed that we should commemorate the Merits of all the Saints on this Day; we beseech thee to give us the desired Treasure of thy Propitiation, thro' those manifold Intercessors.* This Prayer was altered by our good Priest in the following Manner: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui nos omnium Sanctorum Gloriam sub una tribuisti celebritate venerari: quæsumus, ut desideratam tuæ propitiationis abundantiam, solius Unigeniti tui, qui omnium Sanctorum est Gloria, intercessione, largiaris.* That is: *Almighty and Everlasting God, who hast granted us to celebrate the Glory of all the Saints on this Day; we beseech*

seech thee to give us the desired Treasure of thy Propitiation, thro' the Intercession of thy only Son alone, who is the Glory of all Saints. Proceeding in this manner, he suggested to his Hearers, particularly to the *Heer van Kruningen*, now and then several Doctrines in opposition to Popery; sometimes publickly from the Pulpit, and sometimes in private Conversation. He brought it about too, that the said Lord, who was his Protector as well as Patron, agreed to reform several Matters relating to his Cure; namely, to prohibit the Oblations to certain Images in the Church of *Henfleet*, and divers Superstitious Processions. But after the Death of this *Heer Kruningen*, he did not meet with the like Favour and Support from the Son, who having married *Jacoba* the Sister of *Maximilian* of *Burgundy*, Lord or Baron of *Beveren*, Marquis of *Ter-Veer*, and Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zeeland*, and by this Alliance being obliged to keep great Measures with the Court; he, tho' otherwise a Man of a sweet and merciful Temper, durst not oppose the Fury of the Clergy. *Merula* therefore being accused by some zealous Ecclesiasticks, was not long after summoned to some of the Courts of Justice, and an Inquiry was made into his Alterations in the *Mass-Book*; and in the Year 1553, *Franciscus Sonius*, the Deputy-Inquisitor, went to *Henfleet*, where having searched into his Books, Papers, and Writings, he drew up seventeen Articles against him, upon the Evidence of some of his Hearers; but he defended himself so well, that nothing could



could be fastened upon him. Thereupon *Sonius* required him to produce those Papers in which he kept his Sermon-Notes. Some of his Friends dissuaded him from producing them; but his own honest Conscience, which charg'd him with no False Doctrine, exhorted him not to conceal them. *If, said he, I should dissemble the Things I have preached to my People, they will perhaps report, that I have either deceived, or intended to deceive them: Wherefore, that which I was not ashamed to preach, I will not be afraid of openly confessing.* Thus he delivered up the Sermons he had preach'd. Among a great number of Books and Letters which *Sonius* carry'd away, he found that little Treatise call'd the *Interim*, with some Annotations against Popery. Thereupon the Pastor of *Henfleet* was apprehended. Among the Charges brought against him, and extracted from the Depositions of the Hearers, from his Notes upon the *Interim* and other Books, and from his Sermons, were these that follow: *That it was better to neglect Ten Masses, than One Sermon: That nothing more was necessary to be believed, than what could be found in the Word of God: That Faith without Love was no true nor living Faith: That we are to live according to the Rule of the Gospel, but not after any other Rules: That it was no Christian Poverty to quit our own Goods, and to beg those of others: That the Song Salve Regina was Blasphemy against God and Christ, since it ascribed those things to a meer Creature, which only belonged to God and Christ: That all things*  
*necessary*

necessary to Salvation are fully taught us in the Holy Scriptures: That the whole Roman Church throughout Italy had apostatized from the Belief of the Soul's Immortality: That in Rome, and almost over all Italy, there were hardly any free from the Sin of Sodomy, and the Disbelief of a Resurrection: That the Decretals and the New Articles of the Divines tended to corrupt Christian Simplicity: That no Synods, nor Councils of Men, tho' the whole World concurred therein, ought to draw us away from the Promises and Commands of God. To all these Accusations he answered briefly in Writing, which was accompany'd with a Protestation at the End: That all what he had noted upon the little Tract called the Interim, or other printed Papers, was not designed to the Prejudice of any body, but only out of Charity and a Desire to find out Truth: That he had never shewn or given those Notes to any one, nor disputed with others concerning them. That he supposed, that the General Council, which met first at Pisa, then at Vincenza, and lastly was agreed to be holden at Trent, did allow him and the rest of the Clergy to observe and propose Remedies for the Abuses and Corruptions of the Church. He thought it could not be imputed to him as a Sin or Misdemeanour, that he should keep an Account between God and his own Soul; and the rather, since he was informed, that the Bishop of Utrecht, yea, even the Archbishop of Cologne, insisted and prest for

for the same things, and desired to assist at the same Council, with others, on behalf of the Low-Countries.

In the mean time *Sonius* endeavoured to blacken this good Man with the *Heer van Kru-ningen*, and to obtain Leave to carry him away to *Utrecht*; but that was refused him, till at the Desire of the Stadtholder, and with the Consent of the Judges, he was carry'd Prisoner to the *Hague*, and kept there at the Charge of the said Lord. Being there, *Sonius*; and afterwards *Tapper* the Inquisitor-General of the *Low-Countries*, preferred an Indictment against him. After some Proceedings, *Sonius* requested of the Courts of Justice, that the Accused Person might be removed to *Utrecht*. The Judges writ concerning the same to the Lord of *Kruningen*, whose Prisoner he was, and he then consented thereto. *Angelus Merula* being informed of it, did by his Brother's Son present a Petition to the States of *Holland*, wherein he besought them: That as they had formerly done on the like Occasion, they would not allow their Prisoner to be carry'd into another Province, contrary to their Privileges, since he was ready to answer in the *Hague*, and to do what was necessary on his Part. The States having considered his Petition, commanded the Keeper not to deliver him, declaring at the same time, that in the next Assembly they would farther weigh the Matter, and proceed therein as was just and meet. *Sonius* in the mean time delay'd this Affair as much as he could, in order, as it is thought,

thought, to tire the old Man. On the other hand, the Prisoner did his utmost Diligence by Letters and Messages to bring the Business to an Issue, or at least that he might have the *Hague* for his Prison at large, giving good Bail, forasmuch as the Winter came on, and he, besides his Age, was visited with other Diseases. After much ado the Princess *Mary*, the Governess of the *Low-Countries*, wrote to the Court of *Holland*, that the old Man's Confinement should be alleviated, and he put into the keeping of two Messengers in a sure Place. The Court refused to execute the Order, because he was the *Heer van Kruningen's* Prisoner. But having considered his Case, it was resolved at last, that he should be removed to a certain Convent, called the *Provosty of Middleburg*, at the West end of the *Hague*; there he continued some Months, enjoying a little more Liberty. Having again petitioned the Princess for his Release upon the Conditions abovementioned, it was so contrived by his Enemies, that she referred his Case to the Inquisitor *Tapper* and some others. *Tapper* thereupon repairing to the *Hague*, immediately put him under a closer Confinement. But the Court of Justice taking pity of his rigorous Usage, and in Deference to the Princess, deputed two Persons from the Council to have an Eye to their Proceedings, and to protect him against all Partiality and Bitterness, as far as was consistent with their Oaths and Honour. However, they forced him to answer to one hundred and eight Articles extracted from his

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Papers,



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Papers, by a simple *I believe, or I believe not.* And this he did in the Space of an Hour, without any previous Consideration, defending the Principal Points of his Faith against the said Inquisitor, in the Presence of the Stadtholder and the Council, during a whole Month, by Word of Mouth and Writing, with such invincible Eloquence and wonderful Steadiness, as astonished his worst Enemies, and struck 'em dumb. He begg'd that he might be permitted to read some of his Manuscript Pieces aloud, and in the Presence of the Council; but the Inquisitor refused him that Favour; and when he shewed their Unreasonableness, he was answered, that they would lay before their Lordships, Copies of all those Pieces, but they never kept their Word; and they took it ill, if any of them touched any of the Pastor's Notes and Comments, in order to look upon them. He also complained, that they did not allow him Time enough to answer to such a Number of Articles, nor to keep any Copy of what Arguments he used for his own Defence and Justification. And when he sometimes desired leave to read and look over, for the help of his Memory, those Papers which he had delivered to them before, they would not grant him so reasonable a Request, to the end, that not knowing what he had already replied to, they might see whether he faulter'd or varied in his Answer, and so might ensnare him. When he complained to the Lords Justiciaries of the violent and unjust Proceedings of the Inquisitors, they

they reply'd: *We are appointed by the Queen only as Witnesses of all that passes in this Affair, but not to be Judges.*

After this they removed him to his first Prison, and not being strong enough for him in their Disputes, they threatened him with Death, if he would not *Recant*. But when this neither could make any Impression upon him, they employed *Nicholas van Nieuland*, or, as he styles himself *a Nova Terra*, a *Hollander* of *Egmont*, Nominal Bishop of *Hebron*, Suffragan Bishop of *Utrecht*, and at that time Pastor of *Harlem*, to bring him back with fair Speeches, and to reconcile him (that was their Language) to the Church. Whereupon the good old Man declared: *That he was not conscious he had left the Church, but, on the contrary, he had been always of it, and would continue in it. That having been formerly called by the Higher Powers to examine the Interim, together with other Divines, he had upon that Occasion (Sickness and Weakness confining him to his House at the same time) noted several things in Writing concerning the same, but without the least Intention of promoting any Tumult or Sedition: That he therefore kept all his Remarks to himself, and for his own Use: And these were the Things which the Inquisitors now brought upon the Stage, and from thence charged him with Heresy. He complained likewise in particular against Tapper: That the Council having thought it*

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proper that he should own in general, that he had erred in some indifferent Matters, and that he being not altogether averse from such a kind of Acknowledgment, that he might not seem to give an Occasion of Mutiny to the People; the said Tapper did nevertheless the next Day strenuously insist upon his abjuring all the Articles, though some could be proved to be agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. This he refused, and said: That he who acts against his Conscience, prepares a Hell for himself. He owned: That he might have erred, and that it was possible that he should err hereafter; but that as yet his own Heart did not accuse him of sowing and propagating Error or Divisions among the People. He farther declared, that he would never recede from the following Doctrines: That God alone is to be called upon and prayed to: That Christ is our only Mediator and Intercessor: That the Honour paid to Images is vain, unprofitable, and unbecoming us: That we are justified by Faith only, and not by Works: That the Merits of Christ's Death and Passion are the only Propitiation for all our Sins. Being asked whether he pretended to be wiser than the whole Church, he answered: That he was wise according to the Word of God; to the Commands of which he would be obedient, without pinning his Faith on the Inventions of Men. He said that, among other things, he look'd upon it as a great Abuse, that the People used the following Responsorium: *O Maria, cujus oratio de Potenti procedit Brachio!* that is, O Mary, whose Prayer proceeds from

from a Powerful Arm! That the Church sung these, and such-like Hymns, tho' not consistent with the Word of God, no more than what was rehearsed in some Places of our Lady, to wit: *Agna Dei, quæ tollis peccata mundi!* that is, *O thou Ewe-Lamb of God, that takest away the Sins of the World!*

In the mean while something happened that alarmed the Inquisitors, and gave them much Trouble: The People flocked to the *Hague* from all Parts, at the time they expected that Judgment should be executed upon him. The whole States of *Holland* were moved with Compassion at the Misfortune and Misery of the Old Man, on account of his good Name, extraordinary Learning, admirable Eloquence, great Probity, and unexhaustible Charity to the Poor, who now cry'd, *That they were bereft of their Father, their Patron, Defender, and only Trust and Comfort in their Necessities.* He had, among other Alms, built also an Hospital for the Poor in the *Brill*, which as some think, first tempted these greedy Inquisitors to fall so eagerly upon him. All cried out as with one Mouth, and particularly the Lawyers, that in this Matter the Rights of the Court of Justice were violated by the Inquisitors, who drew to themselves the whole Management of the Law, and had broke through all the Rules and Forms thereof. But the latter were notwithstanding of Opinion, that never any Heretick that had fallen into their Hands deserved Death better than he; and yet they owned at the same time, that it would be



impossible to burn him without running a great Risque of their own Lives, so dear was he to the Common People; nor was he less beloved by the Great Ones, though they durst not show it. On the other hand, if they let him escape, it would be dishonourable to the Church. To avoid therefore the Danger, and yet to attain their Ends, the Inquisitors set their Wits on the rack, and chose such a round-about Way of Falshood, too vile for *Hollanders*, as well as Christians to be imagined. They made use of the Bishop of *Hebron*, a well-spoken Man, to bring about their wicked Stratagem. This Prelate therefore repaired to the Old Man in Prison, who daily expected to receive his Sentence of Death, and falling down at his Feet, bare-headed and with folded Hands; the Tears gushing out of his Eyes, spake to him to the following Purpose: That they were all of them very sensible that they were not to compare with him, who was a hundred times more Learned than they; and were moreover convinced, that his Intentions were honest and good; that they were all of his Opinion in the chiefest Points; that they should not be sorry to be overcome by him with Truth; that there was little or no Difference between them, save only about some Ecclesiastical Customs, and Ceremonies, which being in their own Nature indifferent, depended on the Pleasure of the Governours of the Church, and might be augmented, diminished, altered, and abrogated as they thought fit, provided it was done without giving

giving Offence. He ought therefore to sub-  
 mit himself herein to the Church and her De-  
 terminations, to avoid Tumults and Factions.  
 He saw how the People were heated, and the  
 Consequences thereof might be fatal to them  
 all. It would not be acting like a Christian,  
 to expose them (his Adversaries) to the Vio-  
 lence and Madnes of the inconstant Mob. If  
 You be weary of Your Life, continued the  
 Bishop, why will you involve Us in the Guilt  
 thereof? If you have a mind to die, you  
 may find somebody that does not honour and  
 esteem you so highly as we do, who will be  
 ready to imbrue his Hands in your Blood.  
 And tho' we happen to be stoned (as you may  
 easily observe, we run that Risque) before we  
 be able to justify our Proceedings; yet the  
 Counsellors, who will see the Sentence against  
 you put in execution, will bear witness, that  
 your insatiable Thirst after the Glory of Mar-  
 tyrdom has rendered you guilty both of your  
 own Blood and ours. Bethink yourself then,  
 and do not precipitate yourself into that Ruin  
 which is in your own Power to eschew. The  
 People may cry you up, it may be, for a  
 while; but when they grow cool and come to  
 themselves, they will say, that no body offer'd  
 this Violence to you, but that you brought it  
 on your own Head, and were besides the  
 Cause of spilling much more Blood. Save  
 yourself therefore for the sake of the Poor,  
 who with so many Tears sue for your Life,  
 in Kindness to the People, and for the great  
 Hopes

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' Hopes that all the Deputies of the State con-  
 ' ceived of you. In preserving yourself, you  
 ' will also do us an unspeakable Kindness, that  
 ' we shall be taken for the Preservers of Godly  
 ' Men, and not for their Oppressors and De-  
 ' stroyers, as some do now consider us. Grant  
 ' us the Life we now enjoy, which, tho' we  
 ' did not receive it from you, we shall own our-  
 ' selves beholden to you for, as long as we  
 ' breath, for our Lives are at present in your  
 ' Hands. And as for your own Life, we don't  
 ' pretend that you should thank us for it, but  
 ' yourself. It is but a small matter whereby  
 ' you may obviate all this impending Mischief,  
 ' whereby you may secure your own and our  
 ' Honour, your own, and ours, and many more  
 ' Mens Lives; to wit, if, postponing the more  
 ' weighty Articles of Belief, and leaving them  
 ' *in statu quo*, you would only acknowledge,  
 ' *That you had imprudently and unseasonably en-*  
 ' *deavoured to abolish a few indifferent Points,*  
 ' *Customs and Ceremonies, and say, you are sorry*  
 ' *for it.* Do this and live, and we shall live  
 ' with you. And if what we suggest to you,  
 ' should in any wise be repugnant to your Con-  
 ' science, we will pawn our Souls to the great  
 ' Judge of the Earth, and let them bear the  
 ' Guilt, but let yours be free.' These Words,  
 pronounced with a Shew of Humility, and with  
 an earnest and loud Voice, in order to make the  
 greater Impression on the deaf Old Man (which  
 was likewise attended with an Oath, by giving  
 one Hand to the Prisoner and laying t'other on  
 his

his own Breast) moved him so much, that turning himself to the *Heer van Assendelft*, President of the Council, he asked him, What his Lordship thought he should do? To which the other made him this short Reply: *Ask your own Conscience within, but no body else without.* The Pastor not hearing him well, and being ashamed to trouble so Great a Man with repeated Questions, supposed that he approved of that Expedient which the insidious Bishop had offer'd to him, who also at the same time cry'd out aloud, *Why do you doubt of following the Lord's Advice?* He consented therefore to what was desired of him. Immediately then they led him to the Scaffold, about which stood all the People that came far and near to see the Execution; and there they read, not those indifferent Points in which they pretended to agree with him, but the chief Articles of his Belief; and these they pronounced so low, and mumbled over so fast, that old *Merula* could not hear them, partly thro' Deafness, and partly because some of the Inquisitors amused him on purpose with other Discourses. In the said Writing, after having recapitulated the principal Points of his Faith, they had added: ' That he Abjured and Excommunicated all manner of Heresies, as well those of *Luther* as other Persons; and all Errors repugnant to the Orthodox Faith and Doctrines of the *Romish* Church: That he believed all what the Church believed — promising with a solemn Oath to continue in the Truth and Unity of the said Church — declaring, that  
' whoever



' whoever acted contrary thereto incurred eter-  
 ' nal Damnation — That if for the future he  
 ' should happen to entertain any different Senti-  
 ' ments, he submitted himself to the Severity  
 ' of the Canon Law — He besought them to  
 ' pray to God for him on account of those Er-  
 ' rors, which he now recanted; and of those  
 ' whom he had mislead, he heartily asked For-  
 ' giveness.' Thereupon he was asked with a  
 loud Voice, Whether he Revoked all that was  
 read out of that Paper? To which he answer'd  
*Yea*, meaning no more than those indifferent  
 Matters which he had been desired to revoke.  
 However, before he signed it, he would have  
 read it by himself; but the Inquisitors cry'd:  
*They must make haste and quit that Place, be-  
 cause of the Clamours of the People, and because  
 there was yet more to be done.* There was im-  
 mediately observed a wonderful Change in the  
 People; their Love and Compassion turned to  
 Hatred, Anger, and Curses. The Prisoner bore  
 the Scandal, and his Friends the Shame of this  
 Action. Then followed the Sentence, by which  
 his Books, and all his other Papers that favoured  
 of Heresy, were condemned to the Fire; he  
 himself was deprived of his Living, and made  
 incapable of all Ecclesiastical Functions, and re-  
 quired to read his *Abjuration* and *New Confession*,  
 upon a *Sunday* or other Festival, from the Pul-  
 pit of the Church of *Hensfleet*; after all which  
 he was condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment,  
 there to do Penance with the Bread and Water of  
 Sorrow, and to bewail his Sins, and lastly, to  
 refund

refund all the Charges of his Seizing, keeping in safe Custody, and Tryal, according to the arbitrary Pleasure of the Inquisitors.

Hitherto the Old Man had no Suspicion of the Trick, that had been play'd him; but after he was carried to Prison, and acquainted by his Nephew *Merula* how he was cheated, and what he had abjured, he discovered too late the Falshood of their Hearts, and the Occasion of Scandal given to the People through the Appearances of his Apostacy. Now tho' all that had been done without his Knowledge, and against his Consent, yet he was exceedingly afflicted at it, and his Heart being full thereof, he broke out into the following Lamentation: *O my God, how deceitfully have these long-robed Calumniators and Fame-stealers dealt with me! Have I then appeared, I who had already one Foot in the Grave, and according to the Course of Nature was half dead, so fearful of Death, as to offer Violence to thy Truth; and most unfaithfully to abjure the same! That be far from me, O my most merciful Father, I never had such a Thought; such a Villany never enter'd into my Heart; such Counsel have I never taken with the Enemies of thy Name: O my God, they have solemnly deceived me, and abused thy People.*

His Sorrow quickly threw him into Fit of Sicknes, which encreasing upon him daily, moved the Lords to consent, that he should be carried from the Prison called the *Voorporte* in

the *Hague*, to *Delf*, the Bishop of *Hebron* approving the same, and the Nephew *Merula* giving good Security for him, and kept in the Convent of *St. Magdalen*. Here he wrote a full Confutation of the Ecclesiastical Sentence past against him. In the mean while the Inquisitor *Tapper* was brewing something to his Prejudice. He was gone to *Louvain*, and it would be inconvenient to him, as he pretended, to return again to *Holland*, in order to finish with the Old Man what the Bishop of *Hebron* had promised him by word of mouth. It tended, as they gave out, to the softening of the Sentence. The Prisoner must therefore be carry'd to *Louvain*. This they importuned the Government to agree to, which they did, notwithstanding all the Pains his Nephew took to hinder it. But their greatest Difficulty was, how to get him out of *Holland*, and into the Clutches of the Inquisition.

In the Year 1555, he was carried by the *Procureur*, or Attorney General, contrary to Law, from *Holland* to *Louvain*. There they shut him up in a Monastery, and all his Friends were deny'd Access to him, and he oblig'd to feed on Bread and Water every *Monday*, *Wednesday* and *Friday*. Some say that he was confin'd to a Dungeon where there lay two Mad Men wallowing in their own Ordure, and where he was almost suffocated with their Stench. They add likewise, that the Monks held a secret Correspondence with him, listen'd to him, and took Pity of him; and as they went beg-

ging

ging thro' the Town (for they were of the Order of the Mendicants) related to the Inhabitants all that they had learn'd from him, how he had been deceiv'd by the *Inquisitors*, together with his Godly Life, Meekness &c. This acquired him great Favour. He also now declared openly, that he would stand by all he had ever Preach'd, Said or Writ.

That they might wean him from those Sentiments, they held in the Year 1556, New Disputes and Conferences with him, but he stuck to the Scripture, without being stagger'd by any ill Treatment in the Prison, or Threats that worse should follow. *I do not fear*, said he, *my Adversaries, and I will as freely go to the Fire for the Truth which I have taught and maintain'd in Writing, as to the Refectory to gratify my Hunger.* They took from him his Books and Papers several times, and withheld from him the most Necessary things. They threaten'd to put him in a Sack, and drown him by Night, but neither could that shake his Constancy. Some People of Quality endeavour'd to mitigate and pacify the Wrath and Cruelty of the *Inquisitor*, but all in vain. However this *Scourge of Hereticks* was once so far prevail'd upon, that he sent the Pastor of St. *James* in *Louvain* to try if he could make some Accommodation between him and the old Man consistent with the Honour of'em both, but this Endeavour was also fruitless: For *Tapper* insisted upon being Intreated by him, and that no mention should be made of the  
Tricks



Tricks they had play'd with him in the Hague.

Then this Inquisitor would have old Merula answer anew to several Points, but he demanded that his Papers should be first deliver'd to him. *How can I,* reply'd he, *give any Answer to those Articles, unless they restore to me the Papers I writ upon the same Occasion? For I am neither a God nor an Angel, tho' my Name is so. Sometimes through Compulsion I answered with few, sometimes with many Words; but I remember nothing thereof.*

In the mean while his Case began to be more and more known at Louvain, and every Body to admire at the Constancy and Greatness of his Soul. Many Members of the University cry'd, that not only Injustice, but Force and Violence was done to the Old Man. A Doctor and Professor in Divinity said so many things to his Advantage, that Tapper sent for him, and gave him this Check: 'Forasmuch as you have conversed  
' with the People of best Fashion in this City,  
' and have spread among the Inhabitants many  
' Discourses in Favour of this Old Fellow, you  
' have done very wrong; and now we com-  
' mand you, that, unless you have a mind to  
' pass for a Heretick likewise, you do speak as  
' much Evil among all those with whom you  
' keep Company, as you have already said Good  
' of him.' He was also forbidden to send or receive any Letters before he brought 'em to them.

The

The Inquisitor finally perceiving that this was not the Way to attain his End, begged of King Philip that he might remove the Prisoner out of Brabant. This being granted, they carried him first to the Abby of *Lisieux* in *Hainalt*, where taking from him all Means of Defence, together with all Books and Papers, they teased him about a Year, by the Abbot and others, with many Disputes concerning his Doctrines. Thereupon he petitioned the King, that he might have the Convent at large for his Prison; but his Petition was referred by the King (who had been made believe, that the Old Man had relapsed from the Church) to *Tapper* himself, and he was commanded to send him to another Prison in *Mons*, and to bring the Matter to an Issue.

This was what they aimed at, namely, that the Temporal Arm might execute the Prejudices of the Clergy. Accordingly they removed him from *Lisieux* to *Mons*, on the Fourth of June, in the Year 1557, and threw him into a dismal Dungeon in the Castle. And lest such Treatment should be accounted violent and unjust by the People, it was given out, that the Heretick was imprisoned in a neighbouring Village, and in the mean while *Tapper* sent some Persons to *Mons* to examine him as a new and unknown Man, and lastly, caused him to be declared a Relapse or Apostate Heretick, the immediate Consequence of which was, the Secularizing of him, condemning him to the Fire, and delivering him up to the Civil Magistrates, who were to put the Sentence in Execution.

The

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The hurrying him away to *Mons* was managed with great Dexterity and Secresy, to the end that they might dispatch him before his Friends in *Holland* could have an Opportunity to oppose these wicked Doings of the Inquisition ; for *Tapper* and his Folks were justly apprehensive, that they would endeavour to assert their natural Rights according to the Privileges of that Province, which had been remarkably violated in all their Proceedings against Old *Merula*. This was the Reason that his Nephew could not timely learn the last Remove of his Uncle from *Lisieux* ; so that hastening to *Brussels*, and addressing himself to the Inquisitor General, he was told by him, that Sentence was pass'd, and he believed that he could not find his Uncle alive. Neither indeed had he found him alive, if something had not fallen out which put off his Execution appointed for the 24th of *July*. But riding Day and Night he got to *Mons* on the 27th, about Ten a Clock in the Forenoon, just as the good Old Pastor was brought out of Prison, leaning upon his Staff, and walking to the Place he was to be put to Death. He was so meager and weak, that he could scarce know him, having lain about six Weeks in the Dungeon of the Castle, tormented with Hunger and Thirst, with Filth and Vermin.

It is related, that after receiving Sentence he spake thus to the Inquisitors his Judges : *Since ye insnared me with Lyes in Holland ; since ye hurry'd me away by a Trick, as if I had been a Thief, contrary to the Privileges of my native Country*  
(according

(according to which I ought not to be try'd in any other Province, much less put to Death;) since ye have villainously and unrighteously condemned me; I bless my Eternal God and Father, that he has given me, a Deaf Old Man, perfidiously imprisoned hitherto, the Strength and Courage to reproach you this Day of your Baseness and Falshoods towards me, and enabled me to offer up to God's Glory this poor deformed Body, these grey Hairs and deep Furrows in my Face and Body (which your Cruelty has deprived of all the Chearfulness, Complexion, Blood and Vigour that Old Age had left it) as a Confessor and Martyr for the Truth. Ye murder me in this Wilderness and barbarous Country of the Walloons, as in a Cave; however, there is some among these unknown People that are not Strangers to my Cause; yea, these Coals with which ye are now going to burn me, shall not be extinguish'd before the Rumour of your Massacring me shall reach the Ears of my Friends in Holland.

He was no sooner come out of the Prison, but he spy'd his dear Nephew, whom he accosted with these Words: My Son, now is that last Hour come which I have so long wished for: This is the Hour in which that Great God (in saying which he lift up his Eyes and stretch'd his Hands to Heaven, for they were not tyed, by reason of his Age and Infirmities) has given me an Opportunity, not only to seal with my Blood all that I have testify'd publickly and privately against his Enemies, out of his Holy Word; but likewise openly to declare, that none of those

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things which past in the Courts of Holland concerning me, are true. Having been forced out of my Native Land from one Place to another, I am at last brought hither, where I am entirely prepared to be offer'd up a pure Sacrifice to Christ my Saviour. My Soul longs to be with God; the Adversaries presumptuously said it was the Devil's Property. That be far from it; that is only their rash Judgment, who amuse the People partly by pretending that my Doctrines are Heretical, tho' they are agreeable to the Word of God, and they themselves can't confute them; and partly by the sad Aspect of my Body, which, tho' consumed almost with Old Age, has been so cruelly handled by them as to become loathsome to look upon; for every body that beholds this Filth and Vermin with which I am covered, must approach me with Horror. Thieves and Murderers are treated more mercifully than I am. Go now and acquaint our Friends and Relations in our dear Country, what you have seen and heard. You have stood by me with great Fidelity, as long as they wou'd let you. All that I have, wou'd have been yours as my Heir; but let me intreat you to bear the Loss of your Inheritance with the same Equanimity as I endure the Loss of my Life. You want neither Sense nor Learning, both which, you know, I cultivated in you as long as it was in my Power. You are now of Age, take to your self that Help-meet, whom I, while I was at Liberty, had provided for you. I have by my Instructions wrought a good Work in the Families of the Heermans and Kerkwervens: God will  
give

*give the Encrease. Trust in him, who will bless your Beginnings. Take Care, as far as you can, of the Hospital for the Poor, which I founded at the Brill. And I hope in God, that those Poor will be permitted to enjoy the Alms-Houses and little Endowment I have provided there for them, without Lett or Hinderance; and that the Fiscal of the States will be more merciful than the Inquisitors.*

When he had said this, the Officers of Justice forced him to go on, not without threatening his Nephew for the Discourses that had pass'd between them. Thereupon, Goon, said he to the Officers; *and I thank my most Gracious Father, that I am appointed to dye publickly, and that thereby it is not in the Power of my Adversaries to blast with Calumnies the Constancy wherewith I am armed, thro' his Grace; as they would undoubtedly have done, if (as I always feared) they had dispatch'd me with Poison, or by some other means, privately in the Prison, or drowned me in a Sack, as they had plotted to do, whilst I was in the Abby of Lisieux. However, my Blood will not quench that Fire which they have kindled against themselves, but within a little time it shall break out in a much greater Flame, which neither they nor their Posterity shall be able to extinguish. Whilst his Nephew was comforting him with the following Advice, Believe firmly that you shall soon see the Salvation of the Lord in the Land of the Living: Behave therefore with Courage, and patiently abide the Visitation of the Lord, they were torn from one another's Arms; but the*

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Pastor marching on between a *Franciscan* Frier and the Hang-man, did not cease all the time to exhort the People in the *French* Tongue (which greatly mortify'd the Monks and others, who did not know he understood it) *to the Knowledge of the Truth, and to the Love and Fear of God, together with a continual Meditation upon the Death and Merits of their only Saviour Jesus Christ, and not to depend on the Merit of their own Works.* And he declared farther, that one of the chiefest Causes of their putting him to Death, was his maintaining, *That our Worship ought only to be address'd to God.*

Being come out of the Town to the Pile that was prepared with all sort of combustible matters, into the midst of which he was to be put, he begg'd of them that he might have leave to pour out a Prayer to God. This was permitted; whereupon with bended Knees and folded Hands praying earnestly to God, he sank down just before the Fire. The People thinking that it was thro' Fear of the approaching Torments, ran to him, but found him without Life, and freed from all his Sufferings. This was the End of *Angelus Merula*, in which the Goodness and Mercy of God did visibly appear; for it seem'd as if he was pleas'd to call him to himself, just at such a time as was necessary to deliver him from that Fiery Tryal, which a poor emaciated Body, loaden with Age (for he was then seventy five Years old) and the common Infirmities that attend it, and broken besides with almost five  
Years

Years Imprisonment, could hardly have been able to go through. The Executioner, astonish'd at such an uncommon and surprizing Accident, refused to proceed, saying, that the Law was satisfied by his Death. Thereupon nothing more was done then, but the dead Body was afterwards ordered to be burnt to Ashes.

This *Angelus* was the Great Uncle of *Paul Merula*, since Professor of History at *Leyden*, who has also transmitted to Posterity an Account of this Martyrdom in *Latin*.

In the same Year those Fiery Persecutions were likewise extended to some *Anabaptists*. There were ten Men and four Women of that Sect put to Death at *Antwerp* on account of Religion. At *Harlem* another Woman would have been treated after the same manner, if she had not been found pregnant, for which reason she was put into the *Spin-house*. Two Weavers, one of *Hallum* in *Freeſland*, and t'other of *Harlem*, who were imprisoned at the same time, were condemned to be burnt, the first for selling some forbidden Books, and the second for buying and reading them. The Goods of the first were all declared confiscated to the King, and the last's to be ransomed with the Price of Sixty Gilders, according to the Privileges of his Town. After they had been executed, the Officers were going to burn their Books also; but there was such a Tumult excited among the People, that they were obliged



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ged to fly for their Lives, and to leave the Books behind them.

The strict Inquiry after Heretical Books was the Cause that some Writers endeavoured to promote the *Reformation* by Books under borrowed Names, or without any, and printed in Foreign Parts. Thus *Johannes Sartorius* of *Amsterdam* published at *Basil*, in the Year 1558, his Comment upon the Great and Minor Prophets, under the disguised Name of *Tossarius*, a Transposition of his own. In the Preface of the first Volume, we meet with the following Complaints about the Corruptions of the Church:

‘ O the miserable and justly to be lamented  
‘ State of the Church! But we have deserved  
‘ this so palpable Darknes; for we have preferred  
‘ Dreams to the Efficacy of the Word of  
‘ God, Hypocrisy to Truth, the Shadow to  
‘ Light, Mammon to Christ; and what not!  
‘ Does not that Church appear the most agreeable  
‘ to every body, which dazzles their Eyes  
‘ with a Religion that is all Pomp and Shew;  
‘ that is to say, in which a High-Priest clad  
‘ in Purple Vestments, and covered with Precious  
‘ Stones, offers the Sacrifice, and in which  
‘ all other things are ordered and administred  
‘ after the manner of the Old Law? And is not  
‘ such a Church preferable to the True, Spiritual  
‘ and Powerful Church which is founded  
‘ in the Blood of Christ? Nevertheless, in this  
‘ latter is the Marrow of Religion, the true  
‘ Exercise of the Comforter, the Holy Ghost;  
‘ in which all the Evil that comes from Hell is  
‘ put

‘ put off, and all that is good, learnt and practised, agreeably to the living and powerful Word of God. In this School we are really Kings and Priests, but of our Lord Christ; for being anointed with an Oil which teaches us all Truth, we offer up ourselves to the Lord a holy and lively Sacrifice, saying with Paul: *I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.*’ He had been before this put into Prison, and narrowly escaped Death, without forsaking his Faith. He lived some time in Exile, kept himself out of the Communion of the *Romish* Church, and ended his Life at *Delf*, on the 28th of *March* 1567. He was very Learned in the *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages; and, as we are told by *Peter Opmeer*, no body was more a Master of his Mother-Tongue, which he polish’d very much by the Translation of some hundreds of *Latin* and *Greek* Proverbs; and so happily, in the Opinion of *Pontanus* and others, that the *Dutch* was not inferiour to the Original.

About the same Year 1558, *Cornelius Hamstede*, a Minister among the Reformed, and the first Writer of their Book of Martyrs, transported by a Zeal which was own’d to be very unseasonable, and which much displeased the Brethren, had the Boldness to preach publicly at *Antwerp* near the High Cross, during a Procession of the Clergy, and whilst they passed by him. What happened to him thereupon is not said. He had been bred up to a Trade, which he left for the Ministry.

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*John du Champ*, who kept an Ordinary at *Bavay* in *Hainault*, having been convinced by a foreign Merchant of the Abuses of the Mass, grew in time more averse to Popery, and endeavoured to bring over his Nephew, a Monk, to his Opinions; but the Letter he writ to him on that Occasion, happened to fall into the Hands of the Magistrates, by whom he was sent to Prison. Being examined, he own'd, That we do partake of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, but not with our Mouths, but by Faith. Some of the Judges said, that they were of the same Opinion as to that matter. However, after lying there nine Months, he was condemned, to which the following Accident did not a little contribute: The Court of *Brussels* had just then received an Account, that a certain Anabaptist at *Bois le Duc*, who was to have been put to Death for his Religion, notwithstanding he had been persuaded to recant it, was rescued out of Prison by Force. This was so resented by the King, and Cardinal *Caraffa*, then at Court, that the Magistrates, who dreaded them both, condemned *Du Champ* and an Anabaptist to Death, which they suffered on the fifth of *February*. Whilst they were strangling the Anabaptist, the other declared before all the People: *That he did not die for any of the Errors of Anabaptism, or other Heresies, but only for the Doctrines of the Prophets and Apostles; blessing God for the Honour he had to suffer in such a Cause, and praying for all his Enemies.*

*Giles*

*Giles Verdickt* of *Hilwerfeel*, was also strangled and burnt at *Brussels*, whither he went to preach to some Persons of his Persuasion. *Do you think, my Lords,* said he to the Judges, when they pronounced Sentence against him, *to extirpate that Christianity, which you call Heresy, by Burning and Murdering?* Alas! you are much mistaken: *The Ashes of my Body shall brood over this City, and make it spring up the faster; for the Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church.* His Brother *Anthony Verdickt*, a Deacon of the Secret Assembly at *Antwerp*, made two Journeys to *Brussels* to comfort him in his Distress, and supply him with Necessaries; but being betrayed by the Keeper's Wife, his Love to his Brother cost him his Life, which he also ended at a Stake, on the 12th of *January* the following Year. But being strangled, they did not burn him, but hanged up his Body in Chains. This made the People cry, that the Ashes of *Giles* were scattered in the Bosoms and Hearts of the Citizens, and that therefore they durst not burn his Brother *Anthony*.

A little before, on the 19th of *December*, King *Philip* celebrated the Decease of his Father with great Pomp and Ceremony, upon a Ship adorned with numbers of Ensigns and Trophies, bearing the Arms of his Kingdoms and Provinces. At the Head was the Image of *Hope*, in the Middle *Faith* was seated on a Throne, and *Love* at the Stern; which was to express, that the Glory of God was the End of all his Actions. For the Emperor *Charles* had died the 21st of *September*



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September that Year, of a Burning Feaver, in the Convent of *St. Justus*. He employed the two last Years of his Life in Works of Piety and Charity, living with great Temperance and Abstemiousness, in Fasting and Praying. <sup>1</sup> Of his yearly Income he only spent fourteen thousand Crowns; the Remainder, which amounted to ninety six thousand more, was bestowed on the Marriages of poor Maidens, in the Assistance of Widows, and Support of Orphans. <sup>2</sup> He would be called only *Charles*, not *Emperor*. <sup>3</sup> The whole number of his Attendants consisted in twelve Persons, or, as some say, but in four Servants. He kept but one Horse. He was, said he, no longer useful in this Life either to God or himself. He often lamented his Sins with Tears, saying, that in no Day of his Life had he served God as he ought. He often prayed for the Peace of the Church: *Into thy Hands, O Lord*, said he, *have I recommended thy Church*. To promote which he had long endeavoured to compose the Differences in Religion, by calling together a General Council, as we have already shewn. <sup>4</sup> He would likewise have procured a free Access to the same for the Protestants, to the End that they might have there made their own Defence. He also advised the Fathers of the Council, that they should not immediately exasperate those of the *Ausburg* Confession, by falling upon and condemning their Books.

In

<sup>1</sup> Bor's *History of the Netherlands*, Lib. I. p. 4. | Lipf. Monit. p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> Bucholeri Ind. Chronol. p. 590. ex Zenocaro. Just. | <sup>3</sup> Bor. ib.

<sup>4</sup> Thuan. L. XXI. p. 946.

1 In his last Will, which he had made ten Years before at *Ausburg*, he complained of Pope Paul the Third, who, he thinks, did not act a sincere Part, in the assembling of such a Council.  
 2 'Twas the same Pope that threaten'd him upon a certain time with Excommunication, and to whom he answered by his Ambassador: *Will the Pope Thunder and Lighten with his Excommunications?* Tell him, *I will Thunder and Lighten too with my Great Guns.* 3 In his last Retirement he comforted himself chiefly in reading the Life of St. *Bernard*, in whose Words he thus addresses himself to God with deep Submission: ' I am altogether unworthy to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven by my own Merits; but Jesus Christ, my Lord and my God, being possessed of the same by a double Right, to wit, both as Heir to his Father, and thro' the Merit of his own Sufferings, has contented himself with one of those Titles, and is graciously pleased to bestow on me the other; which by virtue of his Donation I justly claim to my self, and, trusting thereto, I will not be ashamed; for the Oil of Mercy, continued he, is not poured out as into a Vessel of Confidence. This is now the Trust and Dependence of a Man who abandons himself and relies on his Lord; otherwise the trusting to our own Merits is no Reliance, but rather a Distrust. Our Sins are pardoned by the Indulgences

† Hist. Conc. Trid. L. VI. Herod. p. 506.  
 ‡ Viri S. Bernard. Lib. I.  
 † H. Stevens Apol. pour C. XII.

‘ indulgences of God ; wherefore we are bound  
 ‘ to believe, that they can only be remitted by  
 ‘ him against whom they have been committed ;  
 ‘ and he only in whom no Sin is found, has the  
 ‘ Right of Forgiving Sins.

<sup>1</sup> About three Weeks before he dy’d, he celebrated his own Funerals, as if, tho’ in good Health, he had known how near his End was. When he was dying, he declared that he placed all his Hopes of Salvation in *Christ Jesus* only, whose Image upon the Cross he set continually before his Eyes, and embraced with his Arms and Heart, saying, when he received the last Sacrament as a *Viaticum*, after the manner of the *Romish Church* : *Remain in me, O my dearest Saviour, that I may remain in thee.* Upon which he fainted and gave up the Ghost. His thus seeking his Salvation in *Christ alone*, without any Mediators or Mediation, was thought by some to be a Tendency towards *Lutheranism*.

<sup>2</sup> And accordingly *Constantin Pontio*, the Emperor’s Confessor, in whose Arms he expired, was soon after thrown into Prison on Suspicion of Heresy, where he died. For which reason the Inquisition, that could proceed no farther against his Person, burnt his Effigies ; not considering, that the Punishment they inflicted on the Confessor was dishonouring the Memory of the Emperor.

The

<sup>1</sup> Strada. L. I. p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Hooft. L. I. p. 27. Thuan. L. XXIII. p. 1051, &c.

Conc. Trid. L. V. p. 376, &c.  
Hist. des Mart. f. 501.  
Hist.

The Princess *Mary*, the Emperor's Sister, did not survive him a Month, dying the 18th of *October* following. His other Sister, *Eleanora*, dyed the first of *February* before.

In this Year about forty Anabaptists fell by the Hand of the Executioner, among whom were six Women: Twenty at *Antwerp*, one at *Brussels*, one at *Werwijk*, four at *Courtray*, one at *Honschoten*, two at *Bruges*, six at *Tournay*, one at *Leeuwarden*, three at the *Hague*, and one at *Dort*. Among those that were put to Death at *Courtray*, was *Daniel Verkampt*; he had been harboured by his Mother, a very ancient Woman. The Dean of *Ronsen*, Inquisitor of *Flanders*, who had examined the Son about his Religion, summoned his Mother also to appear before him. She was told: *That for barbouring her Son a Heretick, she had forfeited her Life and Estate, according to the Placard of the Emperor.* To this the poor Old Creature thus replied: *My Lords, am I to forfeit Life and Estate for barbouring my own Son, whom I bore in my Womb, brought forth with Pain, and educated with great Trouble and Charge, who is neither Rogue nor Thief, but was counted the most hopeful Young Man in our Village; only because you say he is a Heretick? If the Emperor, whose Laws you pretend to observe, were here present, I believe he would say, that they are misapply'd, and commend my Motherly Affection. Indeed, my Lords, you do not act as you ought. If I could have*



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have received this my Son, at the instant you sent to seize him, and have bid him from you in my Womb, and have carried him there nine Months, and afterwards have endured the same Pain and Trouble in bearing and bringing him up, as I have done before; God knows, and you ought also to know it, how freely I would undergo the same again. This her Maternal Eloquence did so move the Judges, that they immediately discharged her, but would not be intreated for the Son.

The Anabaptist who was put to Death at Dort at this time, had been a Burgomaster at Menin, and was fled thither on Account of the Persecution. It is thought, that the Judges were sorry for his Death. Having been either suspected or discovered, he was summoned before by the Magistrates to attend them in the Great Church, with intention that he should look upon such a Summons as a Warning, and so make the best of his Way. But his Simplicity, and the Advice of some of his Friends, who too much rely'd upon the Magistrates, prevailed upon him to appear, where, when he came, he was secured. While he was under Confinement, they carry'd him before the Court of Holland, in order to be delivered from him; but that Court having inquired into the Business, sent him back to Dort, where, after many Delays, they were forced to pass Sentence of Death upon him. The said Sentence being short and remarkable, we have thought proper to insert it here word for word, as follows: *Foris Wippe,*

*Wippe* (that was his Name) born at Menin in Flanders, forasmuch as he has presumed to be Rebaptized, and has entertained evil Opinions, according to the Evidence that has been given against him before the Magistrates, as likewise according to his own Confession: He is therefore condemned, to the Honour of God, and for an Example to the Publick, to be drowned in a Barrel, and after that, his Body is to be carry'd to the Place of common Execution, and there fasten'd to the Gallows, and his Estate forfeited, and to be brought into the Town's Treasury. Done and declared the 4th of August in the Year 1558. But what is still more remarkable, the Hangman, who was to perform this Sentence, refused to do it, saying, that he would rather lay down his Office, than to stain his Hands with the Blood of so good a Man, by whose Bounty the Mouths of his Wife and Children had been often fed and filled; who had often done Good to him and others, and never wronged any one. Thereupon he was remanded back to Prison, where he continued seven Weeks longer, till at last they caused him to be drowned privately and in the Night by another Hand.

The Doctrine of the *Reformation* had about this time penetrated into the Northern Parts of *Holland*, or the Country commonly called *West-Friesland*. What happen'd on this Account, and which we have more largely related elsewhere, shall be here briefly interwoven.

There was at *Enkhusen* a Pastor, or Parish-Priest, named Master *John*, who, for finding fault

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fault with some Popish Errors, was complained of by the neighbouring Clergy to the Bishop of *Utrecht*, and thereupon summoned before him; but the Magistrates of the Town would not suffer him to appear at the Bishop's Court; and one of them, Burgomaster *John Groot Albertson*, went himself to the Bishop, and asked him: *If he could bear Master John's Voice as far as Utrecht?* The Bishop was surprized at such a bold Question; but after a little farther Conversation with the Burgomaster, dismissed the Process against the Pastor.

At another time there was a Meeting of the *Mennonists* or Anabaptists, whereof Information was given to the Magistrates; whereupon Burgomaster *Bookgeest*, who lay at that time sick in Bed, called his Maid, and bad her to go immediately, and warn those People to break up without delay, or they would be all apprehended. And indeed, upon all Occasions, the Magistrates of this Town shewed their Moderation in Matters of Religion; and whereas in other Places People were put to terrible Deaths, they spared their Towns-men as much as possible, and punish'd them only with Banishment, small Fines, and other easy Penalties.

Among those that spoke against Popery in the abovementioned Country, there was likewise the Pastor of *Alkmar*, named Master *Cornelius Kooltuyn*, of whom I shall relate what happened out of a certain Letter writ with his own Hand: Before he came to *Enkhusen*, while he was faithfully discharging his Function at *Alkmar*, in the  
first

first Year of his *Romish* Priesthood, as far, says he, as his *Babylonish Imprisonment* could consist with the pure Doctrine of Luther, he received Letter upon Letter from *Duncanus*, Dean of the *Hague*, and as such, Inspector of the Pastors, by his Disciple *Nicholas Heynesius*, admonishing him to forbear his new Doctrines, and reproving him for having spoken amiss about the *Consecration of the Palms, of the Mass, of the Priesthood*, and other Institutions of that Holy Church. Being after this called to *Enkhusen*, and preaching there boldly against the Abuses of Popery, he was quickly complained of by some Priests his Enemies, to the Inquisitor *Ruard Tapper*, and by him cited to the *Hague*, to render an Account of his Doctrine. He went thither, accompany'd by several Burghers of *Enkhusen*, to whom, under God, he was beholden for his Preservation that time; for when he appeared in the Court, he quickly began to despair of meeting with Justice, finding the whole Bench composed of suspected Persons, Master *Ruard Tapper* being the President, the Pastor of *the Wood*, Assessor, *Wolf* of *Utrecht*, Fiscal or Prosecutor, and the Notary or Clerk, a Servant of the Inquisitor, all of one Mind, and all prejudiced against him. After they had obliged him to take the Oath of Truth (they call it *Furamentum Calumniae*) tho' they took none themselves, the Fiscal charged him with thirteen Articles of Heresy. He refused to answer to them, insisting, according to the legal Practice in Capital Causes, that he might know his Accusers and the Witnesses, and flat-



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tering himself, that he should thereupon escape without answering; for he knew very well that the Witnesses, to the number of four or five, and some of the Principal of the Clergy, were Scoundrels, Lewd Fellows, and unworthy of any Credit for several Pranks, of which none of the *Enkbusers* were ignorant. But *Tapper* would not allow his Plea, replying to him: *We believe the Witnesses, and know them worthy of Belief; wherefore answer the Articles, or you shall abide with us.*

Thus he must have remain'd in their Hands (for if he had answer'd right to those who were already prejudiced against his Opinions as Heretical, it would not have avail'd him) had not the Burghers of *Enkbusen* interceded for him with the Inquisitor their Countryman. At their Request this Scourge of Hereticks discharged the Court and released their Pastor, commanding him to Amend, unless he had a mind to be treated the next time as a *Relapsed* Person, and merit double Punishment. Afterwards the Assessor took him aside, and advised him, as out of Christian Charity, to forsake his Errors, and to adhere to the Romish Church, where he might by his prudent Management do much Good to his own Advantage: *For, says the Assessor, as long as you cleave to this same Lutheranism, you will not be able to make any thing of it; you will get Infamy, but no Honour: You will never see good Days, nor live at your Ease, but be always in Danger, as it has now happened to you. But if you behave like a true Catholic, you will be*  
highly

highly esteemed, and live bravely: I will undertake to help you in a little time to a Benefice worth a Hundred Gold Crowns.

Thus they endeavour'd to bring him off both by Threats and Promises. But when he returned to *Enkbusen*, and was more and more convinced that these things were contrary to true Christianity, and that he ought rather to obey God than Man, he went on in his Way as before; upon which account there was a fresh Complaint, consisting of six or seven new Articles, exhibited against him by one Master *Crispin*, and one Master *Gerrard Karst* of *Harlem*, to the Deputy Inquisitor *Franciscus*. Hereupon Advice was brought him by Word of Mouth from *Ruard Tapper* at *Brussels*, as he suspected, that he should forbear Preaching, being threatened by *Sonius*; notwithstanding that he had convicted the said *Gerard*, in the said Letter, which had been providentially discovered, of Falshood by his own Confession, he having charged *Kooltuyt* with Articles of the like Nature in the Names of other Persons, and in counterfeited Hands. *Crispin*, who was also conscious of prevaricating in this matter, fled for it. In the mean while our Pastor of *Enkbusen* pursued the Advice of Master *Ruard*, his Congregation requesting the same thing too, and forbore Preaching; instead of which he employed himself in visiting the Poor and the Sick. But he was not suffered to continue long at Rest; the Letter of the aforesaid Witnesses found Credit with *Sonius*, to which was added this fresh Charge against him:

him: That now he had Opportunities of spreading his Poison more by Private Instructions and Exhortations, than ever he had done before in his Publick Sermons. For these Reasons he was again cited by *Sonius* before his Tribunal; but the People of *Enkhusen* would not consent that he should appear, having now learnt experimentally, not only the Falsities of his Enemies in their Accusations, but likewise the Arbitrariness of their Proceedings under a Form of Law; from whence they were satisfy'd, that if he went from them, he would never come home again. Moreover, they obtained with great Instances and Importunity of their Countryman *Tapper*, the Chief Inquisitor, a Mandate to *Sonius*, requiring him to dismiss the Cause of *Kooltuyn*, on Condition that he should leave *Enkhusen*, if he still refused to perform the Functions of a good Pastor, that is, *To defend the Ceremonies of the Church; to preach up Purgatory; to exhort the People to call upon the Blessed Virgin, and the Worship of the rest of the Saints.* This he would not hearken to, tho' he was advised by many of his Friends in the said Town, to comply with his Enemies in these Trifles, for so they called them, and to keep his Principles to himself, for the sake of all the Good he did by his Sermons. To this he replied, that he had already but too much burdened his Conscience in the Business of the Mass. 'We must not, *said he*, do Evil that Good may come of it. *Paul* requires, that a Minister be found faithful: Now I shall not be found faithful.



' faithful, if, whilst I teach others, I do not  
 ' learn my self; if I preach contrary to the Di-  
 ' ctates of my own Conscience; if I reprove the  
 ' Sins against the Second Table, and pass by  
 ' those against the First; if I build up again by  
 ' my Actions what I pull down and destroy by  
 ' my Sermons; that is to say, if I preach against  
 ' Idolatry, and at the same time exhibit an Idol  
 ' in the Mass, in order that the People may fall  
 ' down and worship it; if I teach *Christ*, as  
 ' having already obtained an everlasting Redem-  
 ' ption for us, by that one Oblation made to  
 ' his Father, of his own Body on the Cross, and  
 ' yet afterwards offer him up again to the Fa-  
 ' ther, by the Sacrifice of the Mass, to merit fresh  
 ' Pardon for the Sins both of the Living and of  
 ' the Dead; if I tell you, that *Christ* instituted  
 ' the Holy Eucharist with Bread and Wine, in  
 ' Remembrance of his Death, and for a Seal  
 ' in our Hearts of the Communion of his Body  
 ' and Blood, whereby Forgiveness of Sins, Ju-  
 ' stification, and Salvation, were obtained for  
 ' us; and afterwards shutting up a Wafer or Piece  
 ' of Bread, and carry it about in a Gold or Silver  
 ' Box, to the end it should be honoured and  
 ' worshipped as whole *Christ*, both God and  
 ' Man: If I teach that *Christ* has purify'd us  
 ' alone by his Blood, and that there is no Sal-  
 ' vation without him; and afterwards pretend  
 ' my self to purge the Dead from their Sins,  
 ' and to bestow Heaven upon them by Holy  
 ' Water, Incense, Vigils, and Masses for the  
 ' Soul: If I teach that we are to worship God



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' alone, since he alone can see our Hearts, since  
 ' he alone is our Saviour, and has not given his  
 ' Honour to another; and presently after, in  
 ' the Canon of the Mass, invoke forty or fifty  
 ' dead Men, and with a loud Voice sing to  
 ' *Mary in the Church, Come, thou Saviour of*  
 ' *the World, and take away our Sins*; and again,  
 ' *O Mary, command thy Son, that we be not*  
 ' *Damned!* *O Mary, assist us in our Tribulation!*  
 ' If I cry, that none can come to the Father but  
 ' by the Son, and therefore that God alone is  
 ' to be called upon thro' his Name, who is our  
 ' only Mediator and Intercessor; and then go  
 ' and beg an Audience of God, in the Collects  
 ' of the Mass, thro' the Saints that are dead,  
 ' and make the Virgin *Mary* my Intercessor: For  
 ' all this treacherous and unfaithful Service,  
 ' what can I expect else, but *while I preach to*  
 ' *others, I my self become a Castaway*, and re-  
 ' ceive my Reward with those that cry to *Christ,*  
 ' *Lord, Lord, have we not prophecy'd in thy*  
 ' *Name, and in thy Name cast out Devils, and*  
 ' *wrought many Wonders?* And receive for  
 ' Answer, *I know you not; depart from me, ye*  
 ' *Workers of Iniquity.* In these Matters there-  
 ' fore, my dear Fellow-Citizens, I must not  
 ' yield to you, but, like so many *Satans* bid  
 ' you get you behind me.' Having with these  
 Arguments silenced his Tempters, he left them  
 and went away to *Alkmar*, where he set  
 himself to teach School, and divested himself  
 of the whole *Romish Church-Service*, save  
 only that he now and then assisted the Pastors  
 by

by Preaching for them. Hereupon the Attorney-General, Master *Christian Ward*, was sent to *Alkmar* at the Instigation of *Kooltuyn's* Enemies, to procure Informations against him, which he did. Soon after died there Master *Lawrence Zas*, whom *Kooltuyn* used to call his very Learned Master, an upright Minister of that Town, and a Preacher of *Christ*, in whose place they chose *Kooltuyn*. But forasmuch as he had not said Mass of a long time, and absolutely rejected their *Masses*, *Vespers*, *Vigils*, *Laudamus's* and *Processions*, his Ministry was not acceptable to some of his People; so that he had not been in it above a Fortnight, nor preach'd more than two Sermons, when an Order came from the Vicar of the Bishop of *Utrecht*, requiring him to forbear. This happen'd upon the Complaint of a few, but considerable Persons, who could not endure that he should Preach and not say Mass. It did not stop there, for a great many honest and well-meaning People, both within and without the Town of *Alkmar*, were excited by his Example to enquire more narrowly into Matters of Religion, the Consequence of which was their forsaking *Popery*. This did so increase the Hate of the Ecclesiasticks, a Fire which cannot be easily extinguish'd, that at last the Deputy-Inquisitor, *Nicolas de Castro*, upon some new and great Complaints, came with his Officers from *Utrecht* to *Alkmar*, with design to surprize him, and forcibly to carry him away; for which purpose he desired the Assistance of the Sheriff, or *Schout*, as they call him. But

*Kooltuyn* having been timely warn'd, left his House and fled to *Emhden*. After his Departure they endeavour'd to perswade the People of *Enkbusen* and *Alkmar* that his Doctrines must needs be False and Heretical, because, as some of them said, he would not appear and defend them; or because, as others pretended, he would not stay and die for them; which he ought to have done, had he been assured of the Truth of what he taught. But he, to obviate seasonably the Scandal and Offence which some of the most Simple might take upon hearing these Arguments, found it convenient forthwith to publish a certain Book formerly writ by him, which he intitled *The Gospel of the Poor*; in which were contained the Chief of those Doctrines for which he was declared a Heretick, Persecuted and Excommunicated; and sent it into *North-Holland*, to the end that the honest and unbiass'd People might judge themselves of the Truth or Falshood of what he had taught. The *Preface* of this Book contain'd the Letter to his Friend *Timothy*, in which, besides the Account he gives of the Persecution of the Inquisitors, from which he had fled, he answers the aforesaid Objections. Among other things he says: ' My not justifying my Doctrines against those Persecutors, ' is no Argument of the Falsity thereof; for it is ' not that I am under any Doubt concerning ' what I my self have taught, or that I could ' not defend, and prove it to be true, but because they expect I should justify it by the ' Principles of the new Romish Doctors; to ' which



' which it is contrary; and not according to  
 ' the Holy Scriptures with which it agrees, and  
 ' by which it may be sufficiently defended; and  
 ' from hence I justly inferr'd, that my Doctrines  
 ' would not be allowed by them to consist with  
 ' Truth." He said farther: ' That the Pa-  
 ' pists reject the Word of God, and substitute in  
 ' the place of it the Inventions of Men; but  
 ' not to appear to do it, they perswade the Sim-  
 ' ple and Ignorant People that the Scripture is  
 ' Dark, and not to be understood by them;  
 ' That in many places it contradicts it self, and  
 ' that therefore the Interpretation thereof does  
 ' only belong to the Church, to whom *Christ*  
 ' promised the Spirit of Truth. They have  
 ' likewise the Confidence to assert, that the  
 ' Church, by which they mean the Pope, is  
 ' above the Scripture, and for this reason the  
 ' Scripture is not to be opposed to the Church,  
 ' but must be explained by it. Hence it is,  
 ' that all that is urged against them out of Scri-  
 ' pture, is esteemed by them as falsified Scri-  
 ' pture, and those who build upon it, as Here-  
 ' ticks. This is the reason why I don't appear  
 ' before them, *continued he*, for I know very  
 ' well, that according to this way, I was alrea-  
 ' dy condemn'd of Error and Heresie by them;  
 ' for I should skreen my self with the Word of  
 ' God, and they with the Church." After this  
 he shews from Scripture, and the Writings of  
 the Fathers, ' That the real Church of *Christ*  
 ' is not above the Word of God, but that she  
 ' sprang from thence, was founded upon it, and  
 ' govern'd



govern'd by it. On the contrary, that those  
 whose Doctrines were not agreeable thereto,  
 were not of the True Church ; and that no  
 body could be justly tax'd of Error, because  
 he could have no Evidence for him of the  
 Truth from such People who were not Judges,  
 but Oppressors of the Truth." He goes on,  
 and says : ' The Scripture teaches us, that  
 Men ought not to lord it over our Faith ;  
 That God will not be served according to Hu-  
 mane Institutions ; That we must neither add  
 to, nor take any thing from the Word of God ;  
 but all these Evils will happen if we do not  
 believe any more of the Gospel than what Men  
 allow us to do, or if we consent that they  
 shall interpret it for us according to their Plea-  
 sure." And a little lower : ' *Paul* Anathema-  
 tizes not only Men, but Angels also, who  
 shall presume to teach any other Doctrine than  
 what he had preach'd : By which he plainly  
 gives us to understand, that the Scripture cannot  
 be loosen'd, and therefore that it will not fol-  
 low us, but we must follow it." Then again,  
 to show that he did not think it necessary that  
 he should stay and shed his Blood in Confirma-  
 tion of what he had taught, he makes use of the  
 following Arguments : ' Christ did not com-  
 mand his Apostles that they should rashly wait  
 and stay to be Imprison'd or Murder'd by  
 their Enemies ; but that they should fly to  
 another City when they were persecuted in  
 this. So did our Saviour himself, and before  
 him the Prophets, and after him the Disciples  
 did

' did frequently the same. This Command  
 ' therefore concerns me too, and these Exam-  
 ' ples are for my Instruction. In case I should  
 ' be surpriz'd, then indeed I ought not to recant  
 ' my true Doctrine, but confirm the same with  
 ' my Blood; but to expose my self to Dangers  
 ' which I can avoid, and that without any Im-  
 ' pulse of the Spirit, and against *Christ's* express  
 ' Command, it does not appear to me to be  
 ' Courage but Presumption; and I should not  
 ' thereby please, but anger my God, who pos-  
 ' sibly has provided otherwise for me; at least  
 ' I ought to think so, since he has not suffered  
 ' me to be surpriz'd or overtaken; but has  
 ' vouchsafed, just when I was at the Brink of  
 ' Destruction, to warn me by his Messenger  
 ' of the Approach of my Enemies, and furnish'd  
 ' me with proper means to escape the Snare  
 ' they laid for me." Then he quotes the Say-  
 ' ing of *Sirach*: *He that loves Danger shall pe-  
 risk in it*; and the Example of *Peter*, who by  
 presumptuously running himself into Danger,  
 fell into the great Sin of Forsaking, and For-  
 swearing his Master; to which he subjoyns:  
 ' My Adversaries themselves will not agree, that  
 ' all those Doctrines are Orthodox, the Propa-  
 ' gators whereof have spilt their Blood for them:  
 ' Otherwise they must be forced to own, that the  
 ' Doctrines of *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*,  
 ' who were burnt at *Constance* for Heresie, were  
 ' true. As also the Doctrines of *Johannes van  
 Woerden*, and *Angelus van Heensfleet*, that  
 ' have died for the same in our Days. This  
 ' they

‘ they will by no means acknowledge ; for the  
 ‘ Consequence would be, that these brave Men  
 ‘ were real Witnesses to the Truth, and Mar-  
 ‘ tyrs for *Jesus Christ*, and that their Doctors  
 ‘ and Bishops were Persecutors of the Truth and  
 ‘ Murderers of *Christians*.

Then he maintains, that People ought only to judge of his Doctrines from the Testimony of the Holy Ghost, as revealed in Scripture ; and that what he proposed in his little Tract, called *The Gospel of the Poor*, was supported by Scripture and Scriptural Writers, not only of former Ages, but of those of the present Times, whose Names he would conceal, on account of the Wickedness of the Age. ‘ And if, *continued*  
 ‘ be, I have in any wise offended thro’ Inadver-  
 ‘ tency, or erred for want of Judgment, I be-  
 ‘ seech you to bear with me out of Charity, as  
 ‘ I address this Book to you out of Love, re-  
 ‘ membring that I am a Man, and not a God ;  
 ‘ and that I have therein proposed my Confession  
 ‘ not as Scripture, but as Scriptural, and to be  
 ‘ judged of by the Word of God.

This Letter bears Date the 12th of *January* 1559. Soon after his Flight, his Goods at *Alkmar* were declared forfeited, and afterwards were seized for the King’s Use. He was afterwards called to a Church at *Emdden*, which he accepted, and serv’d with much Edification.

Not long after *Kooltuy’n*’s Departure, one *John Buidelmaker*, an Inhabitant of *Alkmar*, fell into Trouble at *Enkbusen*, for having bought some of the said Pastor’s little Tracts, and dispers’d

spers'd them among the People. This smelt of Heresy, as the *Schour* imagined, and ran counter to the Ordinances of the Church, and the Christian Faith, who insisted therefore, that he had incurred Capital Punishment, according to the Tenour of the Placards. The Accused Person urged in his Defence, that he did not know that the said Books were Heretical, that he had not read them, but only bought them incautiously, in order to get his Bread by them; and moreover, that those Books were not yet forbidden, nor so much as charged with Heresy. Hereupon he was banish'd for ever out of the Town.

About this time one of the Magistrates at *Antwerp*, named *Gaspar de Realme*, while he was sitting in the Court, and zealously assisting at the Condemnation of some Persons on account of Religion, was struck at Heart, and being self-condemned and in a despairing Condition carry'd home, where he died of a Fever, raving and crying, *That he had been guilty of shedding Innocent Blood.*

At *Antwerp* likewise, for the better Detection of Hereticks, the Government set 800 Guilders on the Head of a Minister, and 50 on an Elder, Deacon, or other Officer of the Protestant Conventicles. Thus the Cruelty of Persecution was strengthened with the Hopes of Gain. But in the Execution of their Bloody Sentences, they met with Difficulties that gradually increased upon

\* Hooft's Hist. p. 38, &c. Wenssenb. p. 16. Meteren. p. 33.



upon them; for the Constancy and Courage of the Sufferers, excited such Compassion in the Minds of the People, so frequently Eye-Witnesses thereof, that many of them did not scruple openly to pity and comfort the poor Creatures as they were leading to the Stake. So that when some of them being apprehended in the Fact, were presently sentenced to the same Punishment, it did so little terrify those who were persuaded that this cruel, indeed, but short Pain, was the sure Way to Eternal Bliss, that when their Companions were going to die, they all joined with them in singing Psalms as loud as they could, and in such Numbers as rendered it unsafe to seize them.

At last it came so far, that whole Bodies and Communities of those that were accounted Hereticks, losing all Patience, broke out into open Tumults, and in several Places forced the Condemned Persons out of the Hands of the Executioner, or at least attempted to do it.

When *Adrian* the Painter, who was betray'd by the Zeal of his own Father, and *Henry Bokholt* a Taylor, Elders of the Secret Meeting, were leading to the Stake at *Antwerp*, on the 19th of *January* 1559, in order to be strangled and burnt, they cry'd out: *We do not suffer for any Crime or dishonest Action, but only for the Confession of the True Doctrine of the Gospel.* And the Officers making a great Noise to hinder their being heard, there arose such a Tumult among the People, that the whole Multitude as it were with one Mouth, cry'd out, *Knock them down,*

down, Kill them, &c. Thereupon all the Houses and Shops were immediately shut for fear of Plundring, the Hangman fled, the *Schout* sheltered himself in a Church, and the Marquis of *Antwerp* knew not which way to turn; at last, however, the Uproar was pacify'd, and the Sentence executed.

There had like to have happened such another Tumult at *Amsterdam* the Month following, when *Cornelius Halewin* a Lock-Smith, and *Herman Janson* a Turner, were going to be put to Death.

A little before, *Baldwin le Heu* had been beheaded at *Brussels* under the Gallows early in the Morning, to avoid the Concourse of the People. Some Months after, one *Thomas Mustard* suffer'd also by Fire at *Valencienne*, for speaking against the Mass.

The number of *Anabaptists* who lost their Lives this Year on account of their Religion, amounted to about Forty Persons; eighteen of whom perish'd at *Antwerp*, two at *Mastricht*, twelve at *Gant*, three at *Courtray*, one at *Wasteen*, one at *Geerfleet*, and three at *Leeuwarden*; and, of the whole, nineteen were Women. Some were examined concerning their Faith by the Inquisitors, and particularly by the Dean of *Ronsen*, who for his Zeal was nicknamed *Saul*. It is related of this Inquisitor, that his manner was to go about the Town, attended only with a couple of Servants, to search for suspected People, especially for *Anabaptists*, and to take them up; and that being met one time by the *Red Rod*,

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*Rod*, an Officer of Justice so called, and asked, *How he durst venture, so slenderly attended, to apprehend those Hereticks; whereas I can't exercise my Office, said he, but at the Peril of my Life, tho' attended with a great many Servants, and all of us well armed.* To which the Dean reply'd: *I have nothing to fear, for my Business is only to take Good People, who bear no Arms, nor make any Resistance.* Then said the Red Rod: *If this be the Case, that you are to take all the Good Men, and I the Bad, we shall stock the Prisons bravely between us.*

About this time likewise one *John*, the Glass-Maker, who was imprisoned and condemned to die on account of his Religion, writ a Letter to his Wife, out of which, what I am relating is an Extract, and represented to her the Duty of a Widow, and how God, the Husband of Widows, supports and provides for them. For which reason he recommends her and her Children to the Providence of the Almighty; at the same time declaring, that his Faith was so well settled, that he would not depart from one single Article of it, altho' his Persecutors should quarter him for it. *Yea, tho' they should set open the Prison-Door, (these are his Words) and say to him, Get you gone, we will say you have Recanted, only do you hold your Peace; I would rather die than be guilty of this Dissimulation.*

The Poets and Rhetoricians did not a little contribute to the Work of Reformation, and to the Prejudice of Popery, which the *Heer Host* describes in the following Terms: 'The Wri-

' tings

ting in Metre or Rhimes was an ancient Practice in almost all the *Dutch* Towns and Villages, for the Improvement of which the best Wits and Ingenious Men had their Meetings in such places as were allow'd by the respective Magistrate. Their Custom was, not only to write Poems, and to hand them about, but likewise to Act publickly a sort of Drolls or Plays, in which they sometimes merrily, and at other times more gravely reprov'd Men's Vices, and insinuated their Duties. These Edifying Diversions, whilst restrain'd by the Government within Due Bounds, were of no small use to bridle and sway the Minds of the Vulgar. Neither has the Magistrate any Means more powerful than this to bring the People into a quiet and lasting Subjection, nor to maintain their own Authority against the Incroachments of the Ecclesiastics; since it seems to be decreed that the Clergy must oppose all Governments that will not be led by the Nose by them. Nor can any Man pretend by dispersing Books and Papers among the People to cope with, or ballance the Efficacy of a smooth Tongue, which in one Hour can talk down a vast number of them at once, and which has other Methods besides to insinuate into their Minds the Affections and Passions of their Pastor.

However these Versifiers did not scruple, as often as an Occasion offer'd, (and they frequently met with too good Opportunities) to attack the Priests in the fore Place, and not

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only



‘only to ridicule their gross Abuses, but also  
 ‘to expose and render very odious the Bitterness  
 ‘of their Persecutions. This pleas’d the People,  
 ‘and the more the Clergy winced at it, the  
 ‘more they convinced the World that they  
 ‘knew themselves to be in the wrong. In the  
 ‘mean while the Great Ones laugh’d in their  
 ‘Sleeves, and conniv’d at it all, in hopes that  
 ‘in proportion as the Church lost ground, the  
 ‘State would get it, and things would be  
 ‘managed with better Temper.

But *Philip* had other Views, and by a Placard published on the 26th of *January*, in the Year 1559, he forbid all Shows or Interludes, and all Acting, Singing or Rehearsing either in publick or private all Drolls, Farces, Plays, Songs, Ballads, Proverbs or the like — wherein any mention were made, or any Propositions or Questions started about the Church, or any Religious Matters — And as for those Plays that might be acted for the Honour of God, or of his Saints, or for the Diversion of the People, they were not to be Acted till they had been first examined by the Principal Pastors, Officers, or Magistrates of the respective Places, and until due Leave and Licence had been obtain’d of them — This was likewise extended to those kind of Plays which were called *Dumb-shows*. And the whole was upon pain of being Arbitrarily, Exemplarily, and Severely Punish’d.

In the said Placart were the following Expressions: *That it was not fit to profane the Holy Mysteries, nor abuse the Holy Scriptures by*  
*confounding*

confounding them with Worldly and Ludicrous Matters; whereas they ought always to be treated with Respect and Reverence in such Places, by such Persons and at such Times as should be Appointed.

1 The War with France ended this Year, and the Peace was concluded at *Chateau* in *Cambresis* the 3d of April, by which it was stipulated, that all the Towns and Places taken on either side within eight Years should return to their respective Owners. In consequence whereof the French were obliged to quit one hundred ninety eight Garrison'd Forts, and to deliver them all up to the Spaniards within three Months; King Philip was to do the same in the space of one Month after, and in the mean while give such Hostages as France should require. The Choice fell upon the Dukes of *Alva* and *Arsebot*, the Prince of *Orange* and the Count of *Egmont*.

To render this Peace more strong and lasting, Philip was to marry *Isabella* the eldest Daughter of France, and who would be his third Wife (his first being the Princess *Mary* of Portugal who died in 1545; and his second, *Mary* Queen of England, that died the 17th of November 1558.) and *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*, was to marry *Margaret* King Henry's Sister. Both Kings engaged themselves after having compos'd their Domestick Troubles, heartily to promote the Calling and Meeting of a Lawful

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Council

<sup>1</sup> Hooft. p. 19, &c. Chron. Van Veer. p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Con. Trid. 373. Thuan. 998, 1010. Bentivogl. 15, &c. Hooft. 162, 724. Apol. Pr. Or. 53. Strada. 79.

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*Council, for the Honour of God, and Quieting the Consciences of their People.* This was one point of the Accommodation. But besides this, it was privately agreed, at the Instigation of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the Bishop of *Arras*, *Antony Perenot de Granville*, between both the said Kings, how they might most effectually extirpate all such as were suspected of Heresie in the *Low Countries*, *France* and throughout all *Christendom*. But King *Henry* one time in Hunting disclosed this Secret to *William* Prince of *Orange*, one of the Hostages, supposing that *K. Philip* had before intrusted him with the same. This gave an Opportunity afterwards to the Reformed in *France*, and those of the same Perswasion here, to take Measures for securing themselves against those wicked Machinations.

On the 11th of *March*, this same Year died at *Brussels* the so frequently mention'd *Ruard Tapper* of *Enkbusen*, Dean of *Louvain*, and Great Inquisitor of the *Low-Countries*, in the 71st Year of his Age. He was highly esteemed by all the violent Papists on account of his fierce Zeal against the pretended *Hereticks*; but the more Moderate detested his Cruelties. Besides what we meet with in History concerning his Spite against the old Pastor *Merula* and others, it is further related of him, that when in the Year 1543, there was spilt so much innocent Blood at *Louvain* by his Instigation, he framed

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<sup>a</sup> Val. Andr. Bib. Belg. p. 708, &c. Apotheos. R. Tapper. f. 37, 63.



med a vile Plot against *Persevald* of *Bruges*, a Licentiat in Divinity, of the University of the said Town. This Man letting his Tongue go a little too fast against the Doctors of *Louvain*, was cited to appear before the Inquisitor, where this poor Man, Blind and Deform'd, was charged with the Sin of Sodomy. Thereupon, nobody daring to say a word in his Favour, and he also refusing to own himself Guilty, or testify any Sorrow for his pretended Crime, *Ruard* took the Opportunity to condemn him to a Perpetual Imprisonment. But being inform'd some time after that he was ready to Perish with Hunger, and that the Price of the Poor Man's Library was not sufficient to furnish him with Bread, he bethought himself of another Stratagem; and to the end he might receive no Prejudice by his Life, nor Disgrace by his Death, he gave him into the Custody of a Gentleman, who had interceded for him, whom afterwards pretending to suspect of Heresie, he brought him into his Court, and there confiscated all his Estate.

'Tis likewise reported of this Inquisitor, that speaking one Day about putting Men to Death for Religion, he used these Words: *'Tis no great matter whether they that Die on this Account be Guilty or Innocent, provided we Terrify the People by such Examples; which cannot but succeed, when Persons Eminent for Learning, Riches, Nobility or High Stations, are thus Sacrificed. And this, as he thought, was chiefly requisite*



requisite at Amsterdam. The Three Books intitled, *Expositions on the Articles of Louvain*, writ by him, were publish'd by the Divines of that place together. In these were quoted whole Chapters out of the Works of *Melancthon* and *Calvin*; so that what was most severely prohibited by the Placards might be safely read in *Tapper's Books*. Wherefore when this Inquisitor said, by way of Complaint, one Day to the President *Viglius*: *That the Remissness of the Civil Magistrates in the Execution of the Placards, was the Cause that the Hereticks increased so much in the Low-Countries.* The President denied it, saying: *That it was his and his Brethrens Fault.* Hereupon *Tapper* falling into a Passion, *Viglius* proceeded thus: *The Heretical Doctrines which we forbid upon heavy Penalties you divulge in the Books you write, and which are published by Licence or Privelege.* *Tapper* answered: *We joyn the Confutations thereto at the same time.* But the President concluded the Dialogue with the following Words: *I know that very well; but the Readers who nicely observe the Arguments of our Adversaries, do not peruse the Confutations with that Attention which they ought, or else do not sufficiently understand them.* He durst not say, that such Confutations were not strong enough. 'Twas with such Discourses as these, in order to invigorate the Persecutions, that Master *Ruard* did often molest and tease the Governours of our Country, and even the Emperor himself. But his indiscreet Zeal

Zeal turn'd at last to his own Hurt. It happen'd in this Year that he coming to *Brussels*, desired an Audience of the King; his Business was to procure another Bloody Placard. He flatter'd himself that he should meet with as easie an Access to the Son King *Philip*, as he used to find with the Father. But they made him wait a great while in an Antichamber; whereupon losing Patience, he press'd forwards through the Guards quite into the King's Presence, who did not answer him to his Mind, but made him presently withdraw. This Treatment so enraged him, that scolding and cursing the Council, and foaming and gnashing with his Teeth, he retired to the House of the above-mention'd President *Viglius*, where he fell down and never return'd more to his Senses, nor to his House.

That this Unmannerliness of the Inquisitor met with so rough a Return from the King, will not seem strange to those that shall be inform'd, that *Philip* never received his Best and Greatest Subjects with that Sweetness of Temper so peculiar to the Emperor *Charles*, and which he was wont to shew to every body; whereas the Son was both Morose and Taciturn. And indeed the *Spanish* Haughtiness was so deeply fix'd in his Heart by Nature and Education, that it is related of him, that even in his Childish Years, when his Father, on a certain time made his Entry into *Antwerp*, and was received with

with great Respect and Honour by the Magistrates and all the People, he beheld it all, without once moving his *Bonnet*; which so provoked the Emperor, that he gave him a good Box on the Ear, in the presence of them all, saying, *Did Vives teach you these Manners?* For *Johannes Ludovicus Vives*, that Learned Scholar of our great *Erasmus*, was the Preceptor of King *Philip the Second*.

*The End of the First Volume.*

